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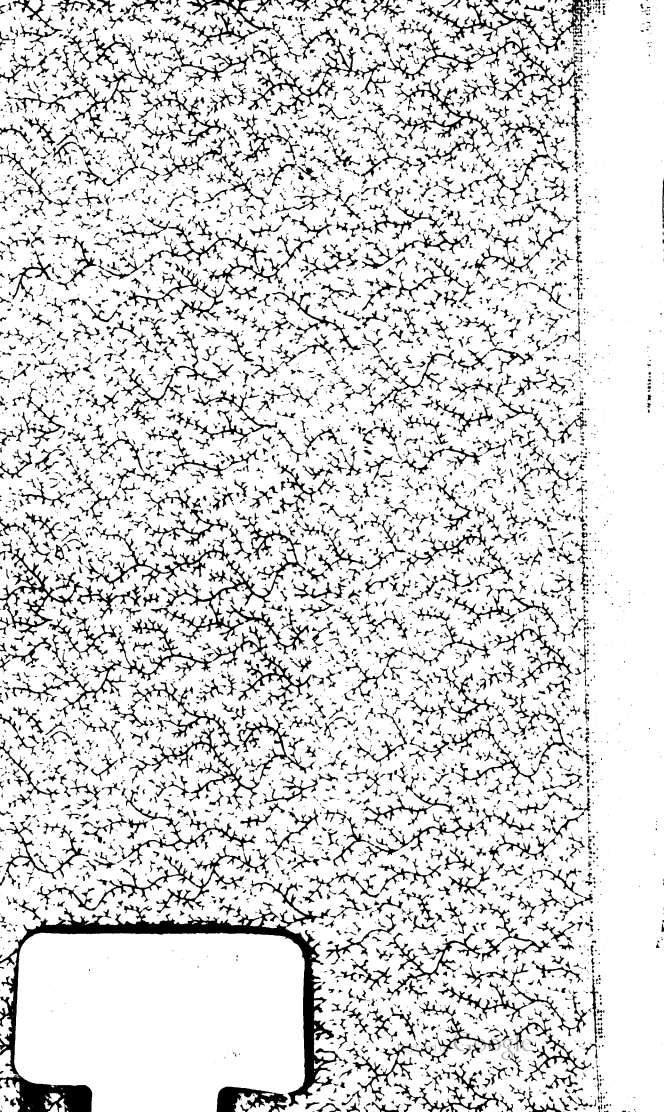
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HERODOTUS.

TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

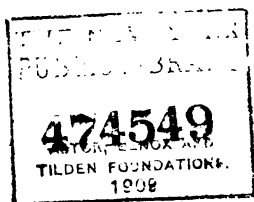
VOL. III.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,

NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET.

1836.



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OF
THE THIRD VOLUME.

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"The style of Herodotus is elegant ; and Dionysius declares him to be one of those enchanting writers with whom you are never satiated. Theophrastus allows that he first introduced ornaments into the style of history, and carried the art of writing to perfection. Cicero denominates him the Father of History, not for his antiquity, but his excellence."—ROBINSON'S ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VI.—ERATO.

CHAP. I. Such was the fate of Aristagoras, the instigator of the Ionian revolt. Histæus of Miletus, as soon as Darius had acquiesced in his departure from Susa, proceeded to Sardis. On his arrival, Artaphernes, the governor, asked him what he thought could possibly have induced the Ionians to revolt. He expressed himself ignorant of the cause, and astonished at the event. Artaphernes, however, who had been informed of his preceding artifice, and was sensible of his present dissimulation, observed to him that the matter might be thus explained: "You," said he, "made the shoe* which Aristagoras has worn."

II. Histæus, perceiving himself suspected, fled the very first night towards the sea: and, instead of

* I have given a literal translation from the Greek; but M. Larcher, thinking, perhaps, the expression somewhat inclining to vulgarity, has rendered it thus: "You contrived the plot which he has executed." Not very unlike this phrase used by the Persian to Aristagoras is our English one of standing in another person's shoes; which perhaps may be traced to times more remote than may at first be imagined. When the Greeks reclined on their couches at meals and entertainments they pulled off their sandals; if any one, on any occasion, wanted to leave the apartment, he put them on again. Therefore, says the poet, I do that with respect to your manners, as a man does at an entertainment, who, wanting to go out of the room, uses another person's sandals. It would by no means be an uninteresting work to trace the meaning of our proverbial expressions to their remotest application: for my own part, I am well convinced that more of them might be discovered in the customs and languages of Greece and Rome than an English antiquary would at first, perhaps, be willing to allow.—T.

fulfilling his engagements with Darius, to whose power he had promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, assumed the command of the Ionian forces against him. Passing over into Chios, he was seized and thrown into chains by the inhabitants, who accused him of coming from the king with some design against their state. When they had heard the truth, and were convinced that he was really an enemy to Darius, they released him.

III. Histiaëus was afterward interrogated by the Ionians, why he had so precipitately impelled Aristagoras to revolt; a circumstance which had occasioned the loss of so many of their countrymen. His answer was insidious, and calculated to impress the Ionians with alarm: he told them what really was not the fact, that his conduct had been prompted by the avowed intentions of Darius to remove the Phœnicians* to Ionia, and the Ionians to Phœnicia.

IV. His next measure was to send letters to certain Persians at Sardis, with whom he had previously communicated on the subject of a revolt: these he intrusted to Hermippus, a native of Atarnis, who abused the confidence reposed in him, by delivering the letters into the hands of Artaphernes. The governor, after acquainting himself with their contents, desired Hermippus to deliver them according to their first directions, and then to give to him the answers intended for Histiaëus. In consequence of the intelligence which he by these means obtained, Artaphernes put a great number of Persians to death.

* It was the easier to make the Ionians credit this assertion, because such kind of transmigrations were frequent among the Assyrians and Persians. It is well known that the Jews were removed to Babylon and Media, and Hyrcanians were to be found in Asia Minor: it would, indeed, be endless to enumerate all the transmigrations which were made by the command of those people.—*Larcher*. We have already seen a great part of the Pœonians of Thrace removed into Asia by order of Darius.—See b. v. ch. xv.—*T*.

V. A tumult was thus excited at Sardis; but Histæus failing in this project, prevailed on the Chians to carry him back to Miletus. The Milesians, delighted with the removal of Aristagoras, had already tasted the sweets of liberty, and were little inclined to give admission to a second master. Histæus, attempting to effect a landing at Miletus in the night, was, by some unknown hand, wounded in the thigh: rejected by his country, he again set sail for Chios, whence, as the inhabitants refused to intrust him with their fleet, he passed over to Mitylene. Having from the Lesbians obtained the command of eight triremes properly equipped, he proceeded to Byzantium. Here he took his station, and intercepted all the vessels coming from the Euxine, except those which consented to obey him.

VI. While Histæus, with the aid of the people of Mitylene, was acting thus, Miletus itself was threatened with a most formidable attack, both by sea and land. The Persian generals had collected all their forces into one body, and, making but little account of the other cities, advanced towards Miletus. Of those who assisted them by sea, the Phœnicians were the most alert; with these served the Cyprians, who had been recently subdued, as well as the Cilicians and Egyptians.

VII. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus, but the rest of Ionia, they sent delegates to the Panionium.* The result of their deliberations was,

* See chap. cxlviii. of book the first.—In my note on this word I omitted to mention, that the Panionium probably suggested to Milton the idea of his Pandemonium:—

Meanwhile the winged heralds by command
Of sovereign power, with awful ceremony
And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
A solemn council forthwith to be held
At PANDEMONIUM, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers.

that they should by no means meet the Persians by land; that the people of Miletus should vigorously defend their city; and that the allies should provide and equip every vessel in their power; that as soon as their fleet should be in readiness they should meet at Lade, and risk a battle in favour of Miletus. Lade is a small island immediately opposite to Miletus.

VIII. The Ionians completed their fleet, and assembled at the place appointed: they were re-enforced by the collective power of the Æolians of Lesbos, and prepared for an engagement in the following order. The Milesians furnished eighty vessels, which occupied the east wing; next to these were the Prienians, with twelve, and the Mysians with three ships; contiguous were the Chians in one hundred vessels, and the Teians in seventeen; beyond these were the Erythreans and Phocæans, the former with eight, the latter with three ships. The Lesbians in seventy ships were next to the Phocæans; in the extremity of the line to the west the Samians were posted in sixty ships; the whole fleet was composed of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

IX. The barbarians were possessed of six hundred vessels. As soon as they came before Miletus, and their land-forces also were arrived, the Persian commanders were greatly alarmed by the intelligence they received of their adversaries' force; they began to apprehend that their inferiority by sea might at the same time prevent their capture of Miletus, and expose them to the resentment of Darius. With these sentiments, they called together those Ionian princes who, being deposed by Aristagoras, had taken refuge among the Medes, and were present on this expedition. They addressed them to this effect: "Men of Ionia, let each of you now show his zeal in the royal cause, by endeavouring to detach from this confederacy his own country-

men: allure them by the promise that no punishment shall be the consequence of their revolt; that neither their temples nor other edifices shall be burnt; that their treatment shall not in any respect be more violent than before. If they persevere in trusting to the event of a battle, tell them that the contrary of all these will assuredly happen;—themselves shall be hurried into servitude, their daughters carried to Bactra, and their country given to others.”

X. Under cover of the night, the Ionian princes were despatched with the above resolutions to their respective countrymen. The Ionians, who were thus addressed, refused to betray the common cause, believing these propositions made to themselves alone. Such were the incidents which happened on the arrival of the Persians before Miletus.

XI. The Ionians assembled at Lade, as had been appointed, and among the various opinions which were delivered in council, Dionysius, the Phocæan leader, expressed himself as follows:—“ Our affairs are come to that delicate point, O Ionians, that we must either be freemen or slaves, and even fugitive slaves. If you willingly submit to the trouble, your situation will be at first painful, but, having vanquished your enemies, you will then enjoy your liberties: if you suffer your vigour to relax, or disorder to take place among you, I see no means of your evading the indignation with which the Persian king will punish your revolt. Submit yourselves to my direction, and I will engage, if the gods be but impartial, that either the enemy shall not attack you at all, or, if they do, it shall be greatly to their own detriment.”

XII. In consequence of this speech, the Ionians resigned themselves to the will of Dionysius. Every day he drew out the whole fleet in order of battle, leaving a proper interval for the use of oars: he then taught them to manœuvre their ships, keeping

the men at their arms: the rest of the day the ships lay at their anchors.* Without being suffered to receive any relaxation from this discipline, the Ionians till the seventh day punctually obeyed his commands; on the eighth, unused to such fatigues, impatient of its continuance, and oppressed by the heat, they began to murmur. "We must surely," they exclaimed one to another, "have offended some deity, to be exposed to these hardships; or we must be both absurd and pusillanimous to suffer this insolent Phocæan, master but of three vessels, to treat us as he pleases. Having us in his power, he has afflicted us with various evils. Many of us are already weakened by sickness, and more of us likely to become so. Better were it for us to endure any calamities than these, and submit to servitude, if it must be so, than bear our present oppressions. Let us obey him no longer." The discontent spread,

* The Greeks used to draw up their vessels along shore while they themselves were on land. When the sentinels perceived the enemy's fleet, they made signals, and their troops immediately came on board. The Ionians, whom their leader would not suffer to come on shore, found the service very laborious; and as they were not accustomed to military discipline, it is not surprising that they considered this as a species of servitude, which they were impatient to break.—*Larcher*.

The first anchors were probably nothing more than large stones, and we know that they sometimes used for this purpose bags of sand, which might answer well enough for vessels of small burden in a light and sandy bottom. Travellers to the East make mention of wooden anchors; and there belonged to the large ship made for King Hiero eight anchors of iron and four of wood. The Phœnicians used lead for some part of their anchors; for in a voyage which they made to Sicily, Diodorus Siculus says they found silver in such great abundance, that they took the lead out of their anchors, and put silver in its place.

More anciently, the anchor had but one fluke or arm: the addition of a second has been ascribed to Anacharsis the Scythian.

Our vessels carry their anchors at the prow: but it should seem, from Acts xxvii. 29, that the ancients carried theirs at the stern.

"Then fearing lest they should have fallen on rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day."—*T*.

and all subordination ceased; they disembarked, fixed their tents in Lade, and keeping themselves under the shade,* would neither go on board nor repeat their military exercises.

XIII. The Samian leaders, observing what passed among the Ionians, were more inclined to listen to the solicitations of the Persians to withdraw from the confederacy: these solicitations were communicated to them by *Æaces*, the son of *Syloson*; and the increasing disorder which prevailed so obviously among the Ionians added to their weight. They moreover reflected that there was little probability of finally defeating the power of the Persian monarch, sensible that if the present naval armament of *Darius* were dispersed, a second, five times as formidable, would soon be at hand. Availing themselves, therefore, of the first refusal of the Ionians to perform their customary duty, they thought this no proper opportunity of securing their private and sacred buildings. *Æaces*, to whose remonstrance the Samians listened, was son of *Syloson*, and grandson of *Æaces*: he had formerly enjoyed the supreme authority of *Samos*, but, with the other Ionian princes, had been driven from his station by *Aristagoras*.

XIV. Not long afterward the Phœnicians advanced, and were met by the Ionians, with their fleet drawn up with a contracted front. A battle ensued; but who among the Ionians on this occasion disgraced themselves by their cowardice, or signalized themselves by their valour, I am unable to ascertain; for they reciprocally censure each other. It is said that the Samians, as they had previously concerted with *Æaces*, left their place in the line, and set sail for *Samos*. We must except eleven vessels, whose officers, refusing to obey their supe-

* This expression may seem to border a little on the ridiculous, till it is remembered that in all oriental climates, both travellers and natives place their greatest delight in sleeping and taking their repasts under shade.

rriors in command, remained and fought. To commemorate this act of valour, the general council of the Samians ordained that the names of these men, and of their ancestors, should be inscribed on a public column,* which is still to be seen in their forum. The Lesbians, seeing what was done by the Samians, next whom they were stationed, followed their example, as did the greater number of the Ionians.

XV. Of those who remained the Chians suffered the most, as well from the efforts which they made, as from their wish not to act dishonourably. They had strengthened the confederacy, as I have before observed, by a fleet of a hundred vessels, each manned with four hundred chosen warriors. They observed the treachery of many of the allies, but disdained to imitate their example. With the few of their friends which remained they repeatedly broke the enemy's line; till, after taking a great number of vessels, and losing many of their own, they retired to their own island.

XVI. Their disabled ships being pursued, they retreated to Mycale. The crews here ran their vessels on shore, and leaving them, marched on foot over the continent. Entering the Ephesian territories, they approached the city in the evening, when the women were celebrating the mysteries of Ceres.† The Ephesians had heard nothing con-

* Various were the uses for which pillars or columns were erected in the earlier ages of antiquity. In the second book of Herodotus we read that Sesostris erected pillars as military trophies in the countries which he conquered. In the book of Pausanias de Eliacis we find them inscribed with the particulars of the public treaties and alliances. There were some placed round the temple of Æsculapius at Corinth, on which the names of various diseases were written, with their several remedies. They were also frequently used as monuments for the dead.—T.

† The same jealousy which prevailed in Greece with respect to the intrusion of men at the celebration of the Thesmophoria, was afterward imitated at Rome in the rites of the Bona Dea.—T.

cerning them, and seeing a number of armed men in their territories, they suspected them to be robbers, who had violent designs on their women. They assembled, therefore, to repel the supposed invaders, and killed them all on the spot. Such was the end of these Chians.

XVII. Dionysius the Phocæan, perceiving the Ionian power effectually broken, retreated, after taking three of the enemy's ships. He did not, however, go to Phocæa, which he well knew must share the common fate of Ionia, but he directed his course immediately to Phœnicia. He here made himself master of many vessels richly laden, and a considerable quantity of silver, with which he sailed to Sicily: here he exercised a piratical life, committing many depredations on the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not molesting the Greeks.

XVIII. The Persians, having thus routed the Ionians, laid close siege to Miletus, both by sea and land. They not only undermined the walls, but applied every species of military machines against it. In the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras they took and plundered the place. By this calamity the former prediction of the oracle was finally accomplished.

XIX. The Argives having consulted the oracle of Delphi relative to the future fate of their city, received an answer which referred to themselves in part, but which also involved the fortune of the Milesians. Of what concerned the Argives I shall make mention when I come to speak of that people: what related to the absent Milesians was conceived in these terms:—

Thou, then, Miletus, versed in ill too long,
Shalt be the prey and plunder of the strong;
Your wives shall stoop to wash a long-hair'd* train
And others guard our Didymean fane.

* From hence we may infer that it was not peculiar to the
HER.—III.—B

Thus, as we have described, was the prediction accomplished. The greater part of the Milesians were slain by the Persians, who wear their hair long: their wives and children were carried into slavery: the temple at Didymus,* and the shrine near the oracle, were consumed by fire. Of the riches of this temple I have elsewhere and frequently spoken.

XX. The Milesians who survived the slaughter were carried to Susa. Darius treated them with great humanity, and no farther punished them than by removing them to Ampe, a city near that part of the Erythrean sea where it receives the waters of the Tigris. The low country surrounding the town of Miletus the Persians reserved for themselves; but they gave the mountainous parts to the Carians of Pedasus.

XXI. The Milesians, on suffering these calamities from the Persians, did not meet with that return from the people of Sybaris, who had been driven from Laon and Scidron, which they might justly have expected. When Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniati, the Milesians had shaved their heads,†

Greeks to use female attendants for the offices of the bath. The passages in Homer which describe the particulars of a custom so contradictory to modern delicacy and refinement are too numerous to be specified, and indeed too familiar to be repeated here.—*T.*

* This place was in the territories of Miletus, and celebrated for the temple of the Didymean Apollo. This temple was more anciently denominated the temple of Branchidæ, the oracle of which I have before described. As this title was given Apollo from the circumstance of the sun and moon enlightening the world alternately by day and night, it may not be improper to insert in this place the literal translation of an enigma on the day and night, the original lines of which are preserved in Athenæus, from a tragedy of CEdipus: "There are two sisters, one of which produces the other, and that which produces is in its turn produced by the other."—*T.*

† Consult Deuteronomy, from whence it seems, that to shave the head was one instance of exhibiting sorrow among the ancient Jews.—*T.*

and discovered every testimony of sorrow: for between these two cities a most strict and uncommon hospitality* prevailed. The Athenians acted very differently. The destruction of Miletus affected them with the liveliest uneasiness, which was apparent from various circumstances, and from the following in particular:—On seeing the capture of Miletus represented in a dramatic piece by Phrynichus,† the whole audience burst into tears. The

* As there is nothing in the manners of modern times which at all resembles the ancient customs respecting *hospitality*, it may be pleasing to many readers to find the most remarkable particulars of them collected in this place.

The barbarous disposition to consider all strangers as enemies gave way to the very first efforts towards civilization; and, as early as the time of Homer, provision was made for the reception of travellers into those families with which they were connected by the ties of hospitality. This connexion was esteemed sacred, and was under the particular sanction of the hospitable Jupiter, *Zeus xenus*. The same word *xenos*, which had originally denoted a barbarian and an enemy (*Herodotus*, b. ix. ch. xi.), then became the term to express either a host or his guest. When persons were united by the tie of hospitality, each was *xenos* to the other, though, when they were together, he who received the other was properly distinguished as the *xenodocus*. In the *Alcestis* of Euripides, l. 546, and in Plato, we find mention of a *xenon*, or an apartment appropriated to the reception of such visitors. The bond of hospitality might subsist; 1. between private individuals; 2. between private persons and states; 3. between different states. Private hospitality was called *xenia*; public, *prozenia*.

So Homer:

The swain replied, It never was our guise

To slight the poor, or aught humane despise;

For Jove unfolds our hospitable door;

'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor.—*Pope*.—*T*.

† There were three dramatic authors of this name, not far distant from each other in time. The first, a tragic poet, the son of Polyphradmon; the second, a writer of comedy; the third, a tragic poet, the son of Melanthus. Suidas, who mentions all these particulars, yet ascribes the tragedy of the taking of Miletus neither to the first nor to the third. But in all probability it was the first and not the third whom Herodotus, and the numerous historians who copy him, mean to point out. The

poet, for thus reminding them of a domestic calamity, was fined a thousand drachmæ, and the piece was forbidden to be repeated.

XXII. Thus was Miletus stripped of its ancient inhabitants. The Samians, to whom any part of their property remained, were far from satisfied with the conduct of their leaders in the contest with the Medes. After the event of the above naval fight, and previous to the return of *Æaces*, they determined to remove and found a colony, not choosing to expose themselves to the complicated tyranny of the Medes and of *Æaces*. About this period the Zancleans of Sicily sent a deputation to invite the Ionians to Calacte, wishing to found there an Ionian city. This coast belongs to the Sicilians, but is in that part of Sicily which inclines towards *Tyrrhenia*. The Samians were the only Ionians who accepted the invitation, accompanied by those Milesians who had escaped.

XXIII. When they were on their way to Sicily, and had arrived off the Epizephyrian Locri, the Zancleans, under the conduct of Scythes their king, laid close siege to a Sicilian city. Intelligence of this was communicated to Anaxilaus, prince of Rhegium :* he, being hostile to the Zancleans, went to the

time in which he flourished (for Suidas informs us that he gained his first victory in the sixty-seventh olympiad) makes this supposition the nearer to truth.—*T*.

* Rhegium, now called Reggio. Its particular situation is described by Ovid.

Its name was taken *απο του πρυυγαι*, because in this place, by some convulsive operation of nature, Sicily was anciently supposed to have been torn from Italy. This incident is mentioned by almost all the Latin poets and philosophers. The best description in verse of this phenomenon is by Virgil.

Pliny, Strabo, and others, affirm that the strata in the corresponding and opposite sides of the strait are minutely similar. The same thing, it is almost unnecessary to add, is reported of England and France, and the opposite rocks of Dover and Boulogne. The curious reader will find some interesting particulars relating to Rhegium in D'Orville's *Sicula*, page 560, where

Samians; persuading them that it would be better for them to turn aside from Calacte, where they were bound, and possess themselves of Zancle, now deserted by its inhabitants. The Samians followed his advice; on which, anxious to recover their city, the Zancleans called to their assistance Hippocrates their ally, prince of Gela. He came with an army, as desired; but he put in irons Scythes the Zanclean prince, already deprived of his city, together with his brother Pythogenis, and sent him to Inycus. The rest of the Zancleans he betrayed to the Samians, on terms agreed on between them at a previous interview. The terms were, that Hippocrates should have half of the booty, and the slaves found in the place, with every thing which was without the city. The greater part of the Zancleans he put in chains, and treated them as slaves, selecting three hundred of the more distinguished to be put to death by the Samians, who nevertheless spared their lives.

XXIV. Scythes, the Zanclean prince, escaped from Inycus to Himera; from thence he crossed over to Asia, and presented himself before Darius. Of all who had yet come to him from Greece, Darius thought this man the most just: for, having obtained the king's permission to go to Sicily, he again returned to the Persian court, where he happily passed the remainder of a very long life.

XXV. The Samians, delivered from the power of the Medes, thus possessed themselves, without any trouble, of the beautiful city of Zancle. After the sea-fight, of which Miletus was the object, the Phœnicians were ordered by the Persians to replace *Æaces* in Samos, as a mark of their regard, and as a reward of his services. Of this city alone, of all those which had revolted from the Persians, the

is also engraved an ancient marble found at Rhegium. We learn from Strabo that the deities principally worshipped here were Apollo and Diana, and that the inhabitants were eminent for works in marble.—*T.*

temples and public buildings were not burnt, as a compensation for its desertion of the allies. After the capture of Miletus, the Persians made themselves masters of Caria; some of its cities being taken by force, while others surrendered.

XXVI. Histiaëus the Milesian, from his station at Byzantium, was intercepting the Ionian vessels of burden in their way from the Euxine when word was brought him of the fate of Miletus: he immediately confided to Bisaltes, son of Apolophanes of Abydos, the affairs of the Hellespont, and departed with some Lesbians for Chios. The detachment to whom the defence of Chios was assigned refused to admit him; in consequence of which he gave them battle at a place in the territories of Chios, called Cœlœ, and killed a great number. The residue of the Chians, not yet recovered from the shock they had sustained in the former naval combat, he easily subdued; advancing for this purpose with his Lesbians from Polichna, of which he had obtained possession.

XXVII. It generally happens that when a calamity is impending over any city or nation, it is preceded by some prodigies.* Before this misfortune of

* See Virgil's beautiful episode, where he introduces the prodigies preceding the assassination of Cesar.

Consult all the whole history of ancient superstition, as it appeared in the belief of prodigies, admirably discussed by Warburton, in his Critical and Philosophical Inquiry into the causes of Prodigies and Miracles.

Julius Obsequens collected the prodigies supposed to have appeared within the Roman empire, from its first foundation to the year 742.

Our Shakspeare has made an admirable use of human superstition with regard to prodigies, in many of his plays, but particularly in *Macbeth*:

Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 'tis day,
And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp:
Is it night's predominance, or the day's shame,

the Chians some extraordinary incidents had occurred:—of a band of one hundred youths whom they sent to Delphi, ninety-eight perished by some infectious disorder; two alone returned. Not long, also, before the great sea-fight, the roof of a building fell in on some boys at school, so that of one hundred and twenty children, one only escaped; these warnings were sent them by the deity; for soon after happened the fight at sea which brought their city to so low a condition. At this period Histæus appeared with the Lesbians, and easily vanquished a people already exhausted.

XXVIII. Histæus proceeded from hence on an expedition against Thasus, followed by a numerous body of Ionians and Æolians. While he was before this place he learned that the Phœnicians, leaving Miletus, were advancing against the rest of Ionia. He without delay raised the siege of Thasus, and

That darkness does the face of earth intomb,
When living light should kiss it?

However a moralist and divine may be inclined to reprobate the spirit of Mr. Gibbon, with which he generally seems influenced when speaking of religion, and of Christianity in particular, what he says on the subject of prodigies, from its great good sense, and application to the subject in question, I may introduce without apology.

“The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies of profane and even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the deity, and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape, colour, language, and motion to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air.”

The quicquid Græcia mendax, audet in historia, applied by the Roman satirist to the Greek historians, partakes more of insolence than justice: perhaps it is not very extravagant to affirm that there are more prodigies in Livy than in all the Greek historians together.—T.

with his whole army passed over to Lesbos ; from hence, alarmed by the want of necessaries, he crossed to the opposite continent, intending to possess himself of the corn which grew in Atarneum, and in the province of Caicus, belonging to the Mysians. Harpagus, a Persian, was accidentally on this station at the head of a powerful army : a battle ensued by land, in which Histæus himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his forces slain.

XXIX. The capture of Histæus was thus effected :—the engagement took place at Malena, in the district of Atarnis ; and the Greeks made an obstinate stand against the Persians, till the cavalry pouring in among them, they were unable to resist the impression. Histæus had conceived the idea that the king would pardon his revolt ; and the desire of life so far prevailed, that, during the pursuit, when a Persian soldier overtook and had raised his sword to kill him, he exclaimed aloud in the Persian tongue that he was Histæus the Milesian.

XXX. I am inclined to believe* that if he had been carried alive to the presence of Darius, his life would have been spared and his faults forgiven. To prevent this, as well as all possibility of his obtaining a second time any influence over the king, Artaphernes, the governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had

* Valckenaer remarks on this passage, that humanity was one of the most conspicuous qualities of Darius. The instances of his forgiving various individuals and nations, against whom he had the justest reason to be incensed, are almost without number. In the case of Histæus it should however be remembered, that his interposition in preserving the bridge of boats over the Danube preserved the person and army of Darius. But perhaps a perfectly absolute monarch is never implicitly to be trusted ; but, like a wild beast, is liable, however tamed and tractable in general, to sudden fits of destructive fury. Of this nature is the detestable fact related of Darius himself, in book iv., ch. lxxxiv. ; a piece of cruelty aggravated by a cool and deep dissimulation beforehand, which raised false hopes, and renders the comparison still more closely applicable.—T.

taken him, crucified* their prisoner on their return to Sardis. The head they put in salt, and sent to Darius at Susa. Darius, on hearing this, rebuked them for what they had done, and for not conducting their prisoner alive to his presence. He directed the head to be washed, and honourably interred, as belonging to a man who had deserved well of him and of Persia. Such was the fate of Histæus.

XXXI. The Persian forces wintered near Miletus, with the view of renewing hostilities early in the spring; they accordingly, and without difficulty, took Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, contiguous to the continent. At each of these islands, as they fell into their hands, they in this manner enclosed the inhabitants, as it were, in a net:—taking each other by the hand, they advanced from the sea on the north, and thus chasing the inhabitants, swept the whole island to the south. They also made themselves masters of the Ionian cities on the continent; but they did not sweep them in the same manner, which indeed was not practicable.

XXXII. The threats of the Persian generals, when first opposed to the Ionians, were fully put in execution: as soon as they possessed their cities, the loveliest of their maidens were sent to the king; and they burnt the cities with their temples. The Ionians were thus a third time reduced to servitude; once by the Lydians, and twice by the Persians.

XXXIII. From Ionia the fleet advanced and regularly subdued all the places to the left of the Hellespont; those on the right had already been reduced by the Persian forces on the continent. The

* The moderns are by no means agreed about the particular manner in which the punishment of the cross was inflicted. With respect to our Saviour, the Gospels inform us that he was nailed to the cross through the hands and feet.—This mode of punishment was certainly abolished by Constantine, but prevailed to his time among the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks.—T.

European side of the Hellespont contains the Chersonesus (in which are a number of cities), Perinthus, many Thracian forts, Selybria, and Byzantium. The Byzantians and the Chalcedonians, on the remote parts of the coast, did not wait for the coming of the Phœnician fleet, but, forsaking their country, retired to the interior parts of the Euxine, where they built the city Mesambria. The cities thus forsaken were burnt by the Phœnicians, who afterward advanced against Præconnesus and Artace; to these also they set fire, and returned to the Chersonesus to destroy those places from which in their former progress they had turned aside. They left Cyzicus unmolested; the inhabitants of which, previous to the arrival of the Phœnician fleet, had submitted to the king, through the mediation of Œbarus, governor of Dascylium, and son of Megabyzus; but, except Cardia, the Phœnicians reduced all the other parts of the Chersonesus.

XXXIV. Before this period all these places were in subjection to Miltiades, son of Cimon, and grandson of Stesagoras. This sovereignty had originated with Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, in this manner:—this part of the Chersonesus was possessed by the Thracian Dolonci; who, being involved in a troublesome contest with the Absinthians, sent their leaders to Delphi to inquire concerning the event of the war. The Pythian, in her answer, recommended them to encourage that man to found a colony among them who, on their leaving the temples, should first of all offer them the rites of hospitality. The Dolonci, returning by the Sacred Way, passed through Phocis and Bœotia: not being invited by either of these people, they turned aside to Athens.

XXXV. At this period the supreme authority of Athens was in the hands of Pisistratus;* but an im-

* I have made several remarks on Pisistratus in a preceding

portant influence was also possessed by Miltiades. He was of a family which maintained four horses* for the olympic games, and was descended from Æacus and Ægina. In more modern times it became Athenian, being first established at Athens by Philæus the son of Ajax. This Miltiades, as he sat before the door of his house,† perceived the Dolonci passing by; and as by their dress and spears they appeared to be foreigners, he called, to them: on their approach he offered them the use of his house, and the rites of hospitality. They accepted his

volume; but I neglected to mention that Athenæus ranks him among those ancients who were famous for collecting valuable libraries. "Larensius," says Athenæus, "had more books than any of those ancients who were celebrated for their libraries; such as Polycrates of Samos, Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens, Euclid the Athenian, Necocrates of Cyprus, the Kings of Pergamus, Euripides the poet, Aristotle the philosopher, Theophrastus, Neleus, who possessed the libraries of the two last-named, and whose descendants sold them to Ptolemy Philadelphus."

The curious intelligence which this citation communicates, affords an excellent specimen of the amusement and information to be gained by the perusal of Athenæus.—T.

* The first person, according to Virgil, who drove with four horses, was Ericthonius. Of the passage "he maintained four horses," M. Larcher remarks, "that it is as much as to say he was very rich; for Attica being a barren soil, and little adapted to pasturage, the keeping of horses was necessarily expensive."

In this kind of chariot-race the four horses were ranged abreast; the two in the middle were harnessed to the yoke, the two side-horses were fastened by their traces to the yoke, or to some other part of the chariot.—See *West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games*.—T.

† Abraham and Lot were sitting before the doors of their houses when they were accosted by the angels of God. Modern travellers to the East remark that all the better houses have porches or gateways, where the master of the family receives visits, and sits to transact business. There is a passage to the present purpose in Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor*:—"At ten minutes after ten in the morning we had in view several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans sitting by the doors under sheds resembling porticoes, or by shady trees," &c.—T.

kindness ; and being hospitably treated by him, they revealed to him all the will of the oracle, with which they entreated his compliance. Miltiades was much disposed to listen to them, being weary of the tyranny of Pisistratus, and desirous to change his situation : he immediately went to Delphi, to consult the oracle whether he should do what the Dolonci required.

XXXVI. Thus, having received the sanction of the oracle, Miltiades, son of Cypselus, who had formerly at the olympic games been victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, accompanied the Dolonci : he took such of the Athenians as were willing to go with him ; and arriving on the spot, was by those who had invited him elected their prince. His first care was to fortify the isthmus of the Chersonesus, from the city Cardia* as far as Pactya, to prevent any hostile incursions on the part of the Absinthians. At this point the length of the isthmus is sixty-six furlongs : the extreme length of the Chersonesus, including the isthmus, is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

XXXVII. Miltiades, blockading the entrance of the Chersonesus, and thus keeping out the Absinthians, commenced hostilities with the people of Lampsacum ; but they, by an ambuscade, made him their prisoner. Intelligence of this event being communicated to Cræsus the Lydian, who held Miltiades in great esteem, he sent to the Lampsacenes, requiring them to set him at liberty ; threatening on their refusal to destroy them like pines.† They de-

* This place was so named from its resemblance to a heart.
—T.

† From the time of Herodotus this expression passed into a proverb, denoting a final destruction, without any possibility of flourishing again.

In nothing was the acuteness and learning of our Bentley more apparent, than in his argument against the genuineness of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris, drawn from this expression of

liberated among themselves concerning the meaning of this menace from Cræsus, which greatly perplexed them : at length one of their elders explained it, by informing them that of all the trees the pine was the only one which, once being cut down, shot out no more off-sets, but totally perished. Intimidated by this threat of Cræsus, the Lampsacenes dismissed Miltiades.

XXXVIII. Miltiades thus escaped through the interposition of Cræsus ; but, dying afterward without issue, he left his authority and wealth to Stesagoras, son of Cimon, his uterine brother. On his death he was honoured by the inhabitants of the Chersonesus with the marks of esteem usually paid to the founder of a place : equestrian and gymnastic exercises were periodically held in his honour, in which none of the Lampsacenes are permitted to contend. It afterward happened, that during a war with the people of Lampsacum, Stesagoras also died, and without children : he was wounded in the head, while in the prytaneum, with a blow from an axe. The person who inflicted the wound pretended to be a deserter, but proved in effect a most determined enemy.*

XXXIX. After the death of Stesagoras, as above

Herodotus.—See his Dissertation, last edit. 122. “A strange piece of stupidity in our letter-monger (I cite Bentley’s words), or else contempt of his readers, to pretend to assume the garb and person of Phalaris, and yet knowingly to put words in his mouth, not heard of till a whole century after him.” What is here individually ascribed to the pine-tree is applicable to other trees ; such as the fir, the palm, the cedar, the cypress, &c., which all perish by lopping.—T.

* I cannot do better than refer to the opinion which Swift entertained of Herodotus. It may justly be regarded as a great curiosity : it proves that Swift had perused the Greek historian with particular attention : it exhibits no mean example of his critical sagacity ; and is, perhaps, the only specimen in being of his skill in Latinity. It is preserved in Winchester College, in the first leaf of Stevens’s edition of Herodotus ; and, to add to its value, is in Swift’s own handwriting.—T.

HER.—III.—C

described, the Pisistratidæ despatched in a trireme Miltiades, another son of Cimon, and brother of the deceased Stesagoras, to take the government of the Chersonesus. While he was at Athens they had treated him with much kindness, as if ignorant of the death of his father Cimon; the particulars of which I shall relate in another place. Miltiades, as soon as he landed in the Chersonesus, kept himself at home, as if in sorrow for his brother; which, being known, all the principal persons of the Chersonesus assembled from the different cities, and coming in one common public procession, as if to condole with him, he put them in chains; after which he secured the possession of the Chersonesus, maintaining a body of five hundred guards. He then married Hegesipyla, daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace.

XL. The son of Cimon had not been long in the Chersonesus before he was involved in difficulties far heavier than he had yet experienced; for in the third year of his authority he was compelled to fly from the power of the Scythians. The Scythian Nomades, being incensed against Darius, assembled their forces, and advanced to the Chersonesus. Miltiades, not venturing to make a stand against them, fled at their approach; when they retired, the Dolonci, after an interval of three years, restored him.

XLI. The same Miltiades, on being informed that the Phœnicians were arrived off Tenedos, loaded five triremes with his property, and sailed for Athens. He went on board at Cardia, crossed the Gulf of Melas, and passing the Chersonesus, he himself, with four of his vessels, eluded the Phœnician fleet, and escaped to Imbros: the fifth was pursued and taken by the enemy; it was commanded by Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, not by the daughter of Olorus, but by some other female. The Phœnicians, on learning that he was the son of

Miltiades, conducted him to the king, expecting some considerable mark of favour; for his father Miltiades had formerly endeavoured to prevail on the Ionians to accede to the advice of the Scythians, who wished them to break down their bridge of boats and return home. Darius, however, so far from treating Metiochus with severity, showed him the greatest kindness; he gave him a house, with some property, and married him to a woman of Persia; their offspring are considered as Persians.

XLII. Miltiades, leaving Imbros, proceeded to Athens: the Persians executed this year no farther hostilities against the Ionians, but contrived for them many useful regulations. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, assembled the deputies of the different cities, requiring them to enter into treaty for the mutual observance of justice with respect to each other, and for the prevention of reciprocal depredation and violence. His next step was to divide all the Ionian districts into parasangs (the Persian name for a measure of thirty furlongs), by which he ascertained the tributes they were severally to pay. This distribution of Artaphernes has continued, with very little variation, to the present period, and was certainly an ordinance which tended to establish the general tranquillity.

XLIII. At the commencement of the spring, the king sent Mardonius to supersede the other commanders: he was the son of Gobrias, a very young man, and had recently married Artozostra, a daughter of Darius. He accordingly appeared on the coast ready to embark, with a considerable body of land and sea forces: arriving at Cilicia, he went himself on board, taking under his command the rest of his fleet: the land army he sent forward to the Hellespont, under the direction of their different officers. Mardonius passed by Asia, and came to Ionia, where an incident happened which will hardly obtain credit with those Greeks who are unwill-

ling to believe that Otanes, in the assembly of the seven conspirators, gave it as his opinion that a popular government would be most for the advantage of Persia: for Mardonius, removing the Ionian princes from their station, everywhere established a democracy. He then proceeded towards the Hellespont; where, collecting a numerous fleet and a powerful army, he passed them over the Hellespont in ships, and proceeded through Europe towards Eretria and Athens.

XLIV. These two cities were the avowed object of his expedition, but he really intended to reduce as many of the Greek cities as he possibly could. By sea he subdued the Thasians, who attempted no resistance; by land his army reduced all those Macedonians who were more remote: the Macedonians on this side had been reduced before. Leaving Thasus, he coasted by the opposite continent as far as Acanthus; from Acanthus, passing onwards, he endeavoured to double Mount Athos; but at this juncture a tempestuous wind arose from the north, which, pressing hard on the fleet, drove a great number of ships against Mount Athos. He is said on this occasion to have lost three hundred vessels, and more than twenty thousand men: of these, numbers were destroyed by the sea monsters, which abound off the coast near Athos; others were dashed on the rocks; some lost their lives from their inability to swim, and many perished by the cold.

XLV. While Mardonius with his land forces was encamped in Macedonia, he was attacked in the night by the Brygi of Thrace, who killed many of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself. They did not, however, finally elude the power of the Persians; for Mardonius would not leave that region till he had effectually reduced them under his power. After this event he led back his army, which had suffered much from the Brygi, but still more by

the tempest off Athos;* his return therefore to Asia was far from being glorious.

XLVI. In the following year Darius, having received intelligence from their neighbours that the Thasians meditated a revolt, sent them orders to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera. The Thasians had formerly been besieged by Histæus of Miletus; as, therefore, they were possessed of considerable wealth, they applied it to the purpose of building vessels of war, and of constructing a stronger wall: their wealth was collected partly from the continent, and partly from their mines. From their gold mines at Scaptesylya they obtained on an average eighty talents: Thasus itself did not produce so much; but they were on the whole so affluent, that, being generally exempt from

* "We embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans; it is the ancient Mount Athos in Macedonia, now called both by Greeks and Turks Haion Horos, the Holy Mountain, by reason that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs. It is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which some historian says that Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a shorter way by water from one bay to the other, which seems very improbable; nor did I see any sign of such a work. The Bay of Contessa, to the north of this neck of land, was called by the ancients Strymonicus, to the south of the Bay of Monte Santo, anciently called Singiticus, and by the Greeks at this day Amouliane, from an island of that name at the bottom of it, between which and the Gulf of Salonica is the Bay of Haia Mamma, called by the ancients Toronæus. The northern cape of this promontory is called Cape Laura, and is the promontory Nymphæum of the ancients; and the Cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory Acrathos: over the former is the highest summit of Mount Athos, all the other parts of it, though hilly, being low in comparison of it: it is a very steep, rocky height, covered with pine-trees. If we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, though I think it cannot be so much, it may be easily computed if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which they say is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above twenty leagues."—*Po-cocks*, v. ii. 145.

taxes, the whole of their annual revenue was two hundred, and, in the times of greatest abundance, three hundred talents.

XLVII. These mines I have myself seen : the most valuable are those discovered by the Phœnicians, who, under the conduct of Thasus, first made a settlement in this island, and named it from their leader. The mines so discovered are between a place called Ænyra and Cœnyra. Opposite to Samothracia was a large mountain, which, by the search after mines, has been effectually levelled.

XLVIII. The Thasians, in obedience to the will of Darius, destroyed their walls, and sent their ships to Abdera. To make experiment of the real intentions of the Greeks, and to ascertain whether they were inclined to submit to or resist his power, Darius sent emissaries to different parts of Greece to demand earth and water. The cities on the coast who paid him tribute he ordered to construct vessels of war, and transports for cavalry.

XLIX. At the time these latter were preparing, the king's envoys arrived in Greece : most of the people on the continent complied with what was required of them, as did all the islanders whom the messengers visited, and among others the Æginetæ. This conduct gave great offence to the Athenians, who concluded that the Æginetæ had hostile intentions towards them, which, in conjunction with the Persians, they were resolved to execute. They eagerly, therefore, embraced this pretext, and accused them at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece.

L. Instigated by their report, Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, and prince of Sparta, went over to Ægina, determining fully to investigate the matter. He endeavoured to seize the persons of the accused, but was opposed by many of the Æginetæ, and in particular by Crius, son of Polycritus, who threatened to make him repent any violent attempts on his countrymen. He told them that his conduct

was the consequence, not of the joint deliberations of the Spartans, but of his being corrupted by the Athenians, otherwise the other king also would have accompanied and assisted him. He said this in consequence of a letter received from Demaratus. Cleomenes, thus repulsed from Ægina, asked Crius his name; on being told, "Well, then," returned Cleomenes, "you had better tip your horns with brass, and prepare to resist some calamity."

LI. Demaratus, who circulated this report at Sparta to the prejudice of Cleomenes, was the son of Ariston, and himself also a prince of Sparta, though of an inferior branch: both had the same origin; but the family of Eurysthenes, as being the eldest, was most esteemed.

LII. The Lacedæmonians, in opposition to what is asserted by all the poets, affirm that they were first introduced into the region which they now inhabit, not by the sons of Aristodemus, but by Aristodemus himself. He at that time reigned, and was son of Aristomachus, grandson of Cleodæus, and great-grandson of Hyllus. His wife Argia was daughter of Autesion, grand-daughter of Tisamenus, great-grand-daughter of Thersander, and in the fourth descent from Polynices. Her husband, to whom she brought twins, died by some disease almost as soon as he had seen them. The Lacedæmonians of that day, after consulting together, elected for their prince the eldest of these children, as their law required. They were still at a loss, as the infants so much resembled each other.* In this per-

* On the perplexities arising from this resemblance of twins to each other, the whole plot of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, and the *Comedy of Errors* of Shakspeare, are made to depend:

There she had not been long, but she became
A joyful mother of two goodly sons;
And, which was strange, the one so like the other,
As could not be distinguished, &c.—*Comedy of Errors*.

It seems unnecessary to add, that this latter play is a very minute copy of the former, of which, in Shakspeare's time, trans-

plexity they applied to the mother ; she also professed herself unable to decide : her ignorance, however, was only pretended, and arose from her wish to make both her children kings. The difficulty thus remaining, they sent to Delphi for advice. The Pythian commanded them to acknowledge both the children as their kings, but to honour the firstborn the most. Receiving this answer from the Pythian, the Lacedæmonians were still unable to discover the firstborn child, till a Messenian, whose name was Panites, advised them to take notice which child the mother washed and fed first : if she was constant in making a distinction, they might reasonably conclude they had discovered what they wished ; if she made no regular preference in this respect of one child to the other, her ignorance of the matter in question was probably unaffected, and they must have recourse to other measures. The Spartans followed the advice of the Messenian, and carefully watched the mother of the children of Aristodemus. Perceiving her, who was totally unconscious of their design, regularly preferring her firstborn, both in washing and feeding it, they respected this silent testimony of the mother. The child thus preferred by its parent they treated as the eldest, and educated at the public expense, calling him Eurysthenes, and his brother Procles. The brothers, when they grew up, were through life at variance with each other, and their enmity was perpetuated by their posterity.

LIII. The above is related on the authority of the Lacedæmonians alone ; but I shall now give the matter as it is generally received in Greece. The Greeks enumerate these Dorian princes in regular succession to Perseus, the son of Danae, passing over the story of the deity ; from which account it

lations in the different languages of Europe were easily to be obtained.—*T.*

plainly appears that they were Greeks, and were always so esteemed. These Dorian princes, as I have observed, go no higher than Perseus; for Perseus had no mortal father from whom his surname could be derived, being circumstanced as Hercules was with respect to Amphitryon. I am therefore justified in stopping at Perseus. If we ascend from Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, we shall find that the ancestors of the Dorian princes were of Egyptian origin. Such is the Grecian account of their descent.

LIV. The Persians affirm that Perseus was an Assyrian by birth, becoming afterward a Greek, although none of his ancestors were of that nation. The ancestors of Acrisius claim no consanguinity with Perseus, being Egyptians; which account is confirmed by the Greeks.

LV. In what manner, in being Egyptians, they became the princes of the Dorians, having been mentioned by others, I need not relate: but I shall explain what they have omitted.

LVI. The Spartans distinguished their princes by many honourable privileges. The priesthood of the Lacedæmonian* and of the Celestial Jupiter† were appropriated to them: they had the power also of

* Larcher remarks on this expression, that Herodotus is the only writer who distinguishes Jupiter by this appellation. I have before observed that the offices of priesthood and king were anciently united in the same person.—T.

† This epithet was, I suppose, given to Jupiter, because the sky was considered as his particular department.—See the answer of Neptune to Iris, in the fifteenth book of the Iliad:

Three brother deities from Saturn came,
And ancient Rhea, Earth's immortal dame:
Assign'd by lot, our triple rule we know;
Infernal Pluto sways the shades below:
O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
Ethereal Jove extends his wide domain:
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
And hush the roarings of the sacred deep.—T.

making hostile expeditions wherever they pleased; nor might any Spartan obstruct them without incurring the curses of their religion. In the field of battle their post is in the front; when they retire, in the rear. They have a hundred chosen men as a guard for their person: when on their march, they may take for their use as many sheep as they think proper; and they have the back and the skin of all that are sacrificed. Such are their privileges in war.

LVII. In peace also they have many distinctions. In the solemnity of any public sacrifice, the first place is always reserved for the kings, to whom not only the choicest things are presented, but twice as much as to any other person.* They have, moreover, the first of every libation,† and the skins of the sacrificed victims. On the first and seventh of every month they give to each of them a perfect animal, which is sacrificed in the temple of Apollo. To this is added a medimnus of meal, and a Lacedæmonian quart of wine. In the public games they

* Instances of this mode of showing reverence and distinction occur repeatedly in Homer. Diomed, as a mark of honour, had more meat and wine than any other person. Agamemnon also, and Idomeneus, have more wine than the rest. Benjamin's mess was five times as large as that of his brethren. Xenophon observes that Lycurgus did not assign a double portion to the kings, because they were to eat twice as much as anybody else, but that they might give it to whom they pleased. We find from Homer that this also was a common practice during the repast, to give of their own portion to some friend or favourite. Accordingly, in the Odyssey, we find, in some very beautiful lines, that Ulysses gave a portion of the chine reserved for himself to Demodocus, "The Bard of Fame."

† The ceremony of offering a libation was this: When, previous to sacrifice, the sacred meal mixed with salt was placed on the head of the victim, the priest took the vessel which held the wine, and, just tasting it himself, gave it to those near him to taste also: it was then poured on the head of the beast between the horns. The burnt-offerings enjoined by the Mosaic law were in like manner accompanied by libations.—See Exodus xxix. 40. —T.

sit in the most distinguished place :* they appoint whomsoever they please to the dignity of proxeni,† and each of them chooses two pythii. The pythii are those who are sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and are maintained at the public expense, as well as the kings. If the kings do not think proper to take their repast in public, two chœnices of meal, with a cotyla of wine, are sent to their respective houses ; but if they are present, they receive a double portion. If any private person invite them to an entertainment, a similar respect is shown them. The oracular declarations are preserved by them, though the pythii also must know them. The kings alone have the power of deciding in the following matters, and they decide these only : they choose a husband for an heiress, if her father had not previously betrothed her : they have the care of the public ways : whoever chooses to adopt a child must do it in the presence of the kings. They assist at the deliberations of the senate, which is composed of twenty-eight persons. In case of their not appearing, those senators who are the nearest relations to the king take their places and privilege, having two voices independent of their own.

LVIII. Such are the honours paid by the Spartans to their princes while alive : they have others after their decease. Messengers are sent to every part of Sparta to relate the event, while through the city the women beat on a caldron. At this signal, one freeborn person of each sex is compelled, under very heavy penalties, to disfigure themselves. The same

* We learn from Xenophon, that wherever the kings appeared everybody rose, out of reverence to their persons, except the ephori. Of these magistrates Larcher remarks, that they were in some respect superior in dignity to the kings, to limit whose authority they were first instituted.—T.

† It was the business of the proxeni to entertain the ambassadors from foreign states, and introduce them at the public assemblies.

ceremonies which the Lacedæmonians observe on the death of their kings are practised also by the barbarians of Asia; the greater part of whom, on a similar occasion, use these rites. When a king of Lacedæmon dies, a certain number of Lacedæmonians, independent of the Spartans, are obliged from all parts of Lacedæmon to attend his funeral. When these, together with the helots* and Spartans, to the amount of several thousand, are assembled in one place, they begin, men and women, to beat their breasts; to make loud and dismal lamentations;† always exclaiming of their last prince that he was of all preceding ones the best. If one of their kings dies in battle, they make a representation of his person, and carry it to the place of interment on a bier richly adorned. When it is buried there is an interval of ten days from all business and amusement, with every public testimony of sorrow.

* The helots were a kind of public slaves to the Spartans, and rendered so by the right of conquest. They took their name from Helos, a Lacedæmonian town: their slavery was rigorous in the extreme; but they might on certain terms obtain their freedom. On them the business of agriculture and commerce entirely depended, while their haughty masters were employed in gymnastic exercises, or in feasting. For a more particular account of them consult Craigius, *De Republica Lacedæmon*, and Archbishop Potter.—*T*.

† This custom still prevails in Egypt, and in various parts of the East. "When the corpse," says Dr. Russel, "is carried out, a number of sheiks with their tattered banners walk first; next come the male friends; and after them the corpse, carried with the head foremost on men's shoulders. The nearest male relations immediately follow, and the women close the procession with dreadful shrieks."

See also what Mascrier tells us from M. Maillet, that not only the relations, but female friends in Egypt surround the corpse while it remains unburied, with the most bitter cries, scratching and beating their faces so violently as to make them bloody, and black and blue. Those of the lower kind also are apt to call in certain women who *play on tabors*, &c. The reader will find many similar examples collected in "*Observations on Scripture*," vol. iii. 408, 9.—*T*.

LIX. They have also another custom in common with the Persians. When a prince dies, his successor remits every debt due either to the prince or the public. In Persia also, he who is chosen king remits to every city whatever tributes happen to be due.

LX. In one instance, the Lacedæmonians observe the usage of Egypt. Their heralds, musicians, and cooks, follow the profession of their fathers. The son of a herald is of course a herald, and the same of the other two professions. If any man has a louder voice than the son of a herald, it signifies nothing.

LXI. While Cleomenes was at Ægina, consulting for the common interest of Greece, he was persecuted by Demaratus, who was influenced not by any desire of serving the people of Ægina, but by jealousy and malice. Cleomenes on his return endeavoured to degrade his rival from his station, for which he had the following pretence: Ariston, succeeding to the throne of Sparta, married two wives; but, having no children by either, he married a third time. He had a friend, a native of Sparta, to whom on all occasions he showed a particular preference. This friend had a wife, who, from being remarkable for her ugliness,* became exceedingly beautiful. When an infant, her features were very plain and disagreeable, which was a source of much affliction to her parents, who were people of great affluence.† Her nurse seeing this, recommended that she should every day be carried to the temple of Helen, situate in a place called Therapne, near the temple of

* Pausanias says, that from being remarkable for her ugliness, she became the most beautiful woman in Greece, next to Helen.
—T.

† How was it possible, asks M. Larcher in this place, to have great riches in Sparta? All the lands of Lacedæmon were divided in equal portions among the citizens, and gold and silver were prohibited under penalty of death.

Apollo. Here the nurse regularly presented herself with the child, and standing near the shrine, implored the goddess to remove the girl's deformity. As she was one day departing from the temple, a woman is said to have appeared to her, inquiring what she carried in her arms: the nurse replied, it was a child. She desired to see it: this the nurse, having had orders to that effect from the parents, at first refused; but, seeing that the woman persevered in her wish, she at length complied. The stranger, taking the infant in her arms, stroked it on the face, saying that hereafter she should become the loveliest woman in Sparta: and from that hour her features began to improve. On her arriving at a proper age, Agetus, son of Alcides, and the friend of Ariston, made her his wife.

LXII. Ariston, being in love with this woman, took the following means to obtain his wishes: he engaged to make her husband a present of whatever he would select from his effects, on condition of receiving a similar favour in return. Agetus having no suspicion with respect to his wife, as Ariston also was married, agreed to the proposal, and it was confirmed by an oath. Ariston accordingly gave his friend whatever it was that he chose; while he in return, having previously determined the matter, demanded the wife of Agetus. Agetus said that he certainly did not mean to comprehend her in the agreement; but, influenced by his oath, the artifice of the other finally prevailed, and he resigned her to him.

LXIII. In this manner Ariston, having repudiated his second wife, married a third, who in a very short time, and within a less period than ten months,*

* This, it seems, was thought sufficient cause to suspect the legitimacy of a child. It is remarkable that ten months is the period of gestation generally spoken of by the ancients.—See Plutarch in the Life of Alcibiades; and Virgil, *Ecl. iv. Matris longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses.*

brought him this Demaratus. While the father was sitting at his tribunal, attended by the ephori, he was informed by one of his domestics of the delivery of his wife : reflecting on the interval of time which had elapsed since his marriage, he reckoned the number of months on his fingers, and said with an oath, "This child is not mine." The ephori, who heard him, did not at the moment esteem what he said of any importance;* afterward, when the child grew up, Ariston changed his sentiments concerning the legitimacy of his son, and repented of the words which had escaped him. Demaratus owed his name to the following circumstance: be-

A. Gellius, who gives a curious dissertation on the subject, l. iii. cap. 16, seems to pronounce very positively that it was ten months fully completed; *decem menses, non inceptos, sed exactos*; but we should take the whole sentence together—*eumque esse hominem gignendi summum finem, decem menses, non inceptos, sed exactos*. This I understand as if he had written, "but that the *utmost* period (not the *usual*) is when the tenth month is not only begun, but completed; "namely, when the child is born in the beginning of the eleventh month. To this effect he mentions afterward a decision of the decemviri under Hadrian, that infants were born regularly in *ten months*, not in the eleventh: this, however, the emperor set aside, as not being an infallible rule. It appears, then, that the ancients, when they spoke of ten months, meant that the tenth month was the time for the birth; and if they express themselves so as to make it appear that they meant ten months complete, it is because they usually reckoned inclusively. The difference between solar and lunar months, to which some have had recourse, does not remove any of the difficulty. Hippocrates speaks variously of the period of gestation, but seems to reckon the longest two hundred and eighty days, or nine months and ten days. We are told that the ancient Persians, in the time of Zoroaster, counted into the age of a man the *nine* months of his conception.—*Sadder*, cited by M. de Pastoret, in a treatise on Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet.—*T.*

* The inattention or indifference of the ephori in this instance must appear not a little remarkable, when it is considered that it was one part of their appropriate duty to watch over the conduct of their queens, in order to prevent the possibility of any children succeeding to the throne who were not of the family of Hercules.—*T.*

fore he was born the people had unanimously made a public supplication that Ariston, the best of their kings, might have a son.

LXIV. Ariston died, and Demaratus succeeded to his authority. But it seemed destined that the above expression should lose him his crown. He was in a particular manner odious to Cleomenes, both when he withdrew his army from Eleusis, and when Cleomenes passed over to Ægina, on account of the favour which the people of that place showed to the Medes.

LXV. Cleomenes being determined to execute vengeance on his rival, formed a connexion with Leutychides, who was of the family of Demaratus, being the son of Menaris, and grandson of Agis: the conditions were, that Leutychides should succeed to the dignity of Demaratus, and should in return assist Cleomenes in his designs on Ægina. Leutychides entertained an implacable animosity against Demaratus. He had been engaged to marry Percalos, the daughter of Chilon, grand-daughter of Demarmenes; but Demaratus insidiously prevented him, and by a mixture of violence and artifice married Percalos himself. He was therefore not at all reluctant to accede to the proposals of Cleomenes, and to assist him against Demaratus. He asserted, therefore, that Demaratus did not lawfully possess the throne of Sparta, not being the son of Ariston. He was consequently careful to remember and repeat the expression which had fallen from Ariston, when his servant first brought him intelligence of the birth of a son; for, after computing the time, he had positively denied that he was his. On this incident Leutychides strongly insisted, and made no scruple of declaring openly that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston, and that his authority was illegal:* to confirm this he adduced the testimony of those ephori

* This story is related with equal minuteness by Pausanias; from whence we may conclude, that when there was even any

who were present when Ariston so expressed himself.

LXVI. As the matter began to be a subject of general dispute, the Spartans thought proper to consult the oracle of Delphi, whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston or not. Cleomenes was not at all suspected of taking any care to influence the Pythian; but it is certain that he induced Cobon, son of Aristophantes, a man of very great authority at Delphi, to prevail on the priestess to say what Cleomenes desired.* The name of this woman was Perialla, who, to those sent on this occasion, denied that Demaratus was the son of Ariston. This collusion being afterward discovered, Cobon was compelled to fly from Delphi, and Perialla was degraded from her office.

LXVII. Such were the measures taken to deprive Demaratus of his dignity. An affront which was afterward shown him, induced him to take refuge among the Medes. After the loss of his throne, he was elected to preside in some inferior office, and

suspicion of the infidelity of the queens, their children were incapacitated from succeeding to the throne.—See Pausanias also on a similar subject, b. iii. ch. 8.—*T.*

* It is impossible sufficiently to lament the ignorance and delusion of those times, when an insidious expression, corruptly obtained from the Pythian, was sufficient to involve a whole kingdom in misery and blood: of this the fate of Cræsus, as recorded in the first book of Herodotus, is a memorable instance; but I have before me an example in the *Stratagemata* of Polyænus, where this artifice and seduction of the Pythian had a contrary effect. It was by bribing the priestess of Delphi that Lycurgus obtained from the Lacedæmonians an obedience which rendered their nation great and powerful, and their legislator immortal. Demosthenes also, in one of his orations against Philip, accuses that monarch of seducing by bribes the oracle to his purposes. However the truth of this may be established from many well-authenticated facts, the picture from Lucan, of the priestess of Delphi, under the supposed influence of the god, can never fail of claiming our applause and admiration, though we pity the credulity which regarded, and the spirit which prompted, such impostures.—*T.*

happened to be present at the *Gymnopædia*.^{*} Leutychides, who had been elected king in the room of Demaratus, meaning to ridicule and insult him, sent a servant to ask him what he thought of his present, compared with his former office. Demaratus, incensed by the question, replied that he himself had experienced both, which the person who had asked him had not; he added, that this question should prove the commencement of much calamity or happiness to Sparta. Saying this, with his head veiled, he retired from the theatre to his own house, where, having sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, he sent for his mother.

LXVIII. On her appearance, he placed in her hands the entrails of the victim, and solemnly addressed her in these words:—"I call on you, mother, in the name of all the gods, and in particular by Jupiter Herceus, in whose immediate presence we are, to tell me, without disguise, who my father was. Leutychides, in the spirit of hatred and jealousy, has objected to me, that when you married Ariston you were with child by your former husband: others more insolently have asserted that I am the son of one of your slaves, an ass-driver: I entreat you, therefore, by every thing sacred, to disclose the truth. If you really have done what is related of you, your conduct is not without example, and there are many in Sparta who believe that Ariston never was a father, having had no children by his former wives."

LXIX. His mother thus replied:—"My son, as you have thus implored me to declare the truth, I will not deceive you. When Ariston had conducted

^{*} At this feast naked children sung hymns in honour of Apollo, and of the three hundred who died at Thermopylæ. Athenæus describes it as a kind of Pyrrhic dance, in which the young men accompanied the motion of their feet with certain corresponding and graceful ones of their arms; the whole represented the real exercise of wrestling.—*T*.

me to his house, on the third night of our marriage, a personage appeared* to me resembling Ariston, who crowned me with a garland† he had in his hand, and retired. Soon afterward Ariston came to me, and seeing me with a garland, inquired who gave it me. I said that he had; but this he seriously denied: I protested, however, that he had; and I added, it was not kind in him to deny it. Ariston, seeing that I persevered in my story, was satisfied that there had been some divine interposition; and this opinion was afterward confirmed, from its appearing that this garland had been taken from the shrine of the hero Astrobachus, which stands near the entrance of our house: and indeed a sooth-

* This story in many respects bears a resemblance to what is related in Grecian history of the birth of Alexander the Great. The chastity of his mother Olympia being in a similar manner questioned, the fiction of his being the son of Jupiter, who conversed familiarly with his mother in the form of a serpent, at first found advocates with the ignorant and superstitious, and was afterward confirmed and established by his career of conquest and glory. Of this fable no happier use has ever been made than by Dryden, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's Day:—

The song began from Jove,
Who left his blissful seats above;
Such is the power of mighty Love:
A dragon's fiery form belied the god;
Sublime on radiant spires he trod,
When he to fair Olympia press'd;
And while he sought her snowy breast,

Then round her slender waist he curl'd,
And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, informs us that a dragon was once seen to lie close to Olympia while she slept; after which her husband Philip, either suspecting her to be an enchantress, or imagining some god to be his rival, could never be induced to regard her with affection.—*T.*

† We learn from a passage in Ovid, not only that it was customary to wear garlands in convivial meetings, which other authors tell us in a thousand places, but that in the festive gayety of the moment it was not unusual for one friend to give them to another.—*T.*

sayer declared that the personage I speak of was that hero himself. I have now, my son, told you all that you wished to know : you are either the son of Astrobachus or of Ariston. Your enemies particularly object to you, that Ariston, when he first heard of your birth, declared in the presence of many that you could not possibly be his son, as the time of ten months was not yet completed ; but he said this from his ignorance of such matters. Some women are delivered at nine, others at seven months ; all do not go ten. I was delivered of you at seven ; and Ariston himself afterward confessed that he had uttered those words foolishly. With regard to all other calumnies, you may safely despise them, and rely on what I have said. As to the story of the ass-driver, may the wives of Leutychides, and of those who say such things, produce their husbands such children !”

LXX. Demaratus having heard all that he wished, took some provisions, and departed for Elis ; he pretended, however, that he was gone to consult the oracle at Delphi. The Lacedæmonians suspected and pursued him. Demaratus had already crossed from Elis to Zacynthus, where the Lacedæmonians, still following him, seized his person and his servants : these they carried away ; but the Zacynthians refusing to let them take Demaratus, he passed over into Asia, where he was honourably received by Darius, and presented with many lands and cities. Such was the fortune of Demaratus, a man distinguished among his countrymen by many memorable deeds and sayings : and who alone, of all the kings of Sparta,* obtained the prize in the olympic games in the chariot-race of four horses.

LXXI. Leutychides, the son of Menaris, who suc-

* At this passage Valckenaer remarks, that these Spartan princes were probably of the opinion of Agesilaus, who, as is recorded in Plutarch, said that the victories at these games were carried rather by riches than by merit.—T.

ceeded Demaratus after he had been deposed, had a son named Zeuxidamus, called by some of the Spartans Cyniscus, or the whelp. He never enjoyed the throne of Sparta, but, dying before his father, left a son named Archidamus. Leutychides, on the loss of his son, took for his second wife Eurydame, sister of Menius, and daughter of Diactoris: by her he had a daughter called Lampito, but no male offspring: she, by the consent of Leutychides, was married to Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus.

LXXII. The latter days of Leutychides were not spent in Sparta; but the cause of Demaratus was avenged in this manner:—Leutychides commanded an army of his countrymen, in an expedition against Thessaly, and might have reduced the whole country; but, suffering himself to be bribed by a large sum of money, he was detected in his own camp, sitting on a sack of money. Being brought to a public trial, he was driven from Sparta, and his house razed.* He fled to Tegea, where he died; but the above events happened some time afterward.

LXXIII. Cleomenes, having succeeded in his designs on Demaratus, took with him Leutychides, and proceeded against Ægina, with which he was exceedingly exasperated, on account of the insult he had received. The people of Ægina, on seeing themselves assailed by two kings, did not meditate a long resistance; ten of the most illustrious and affluent were selected as hostages; among these were Crios, son of Polycritus, and Casambris, son of Aristocrates, men of considerable authority. Be-

* This still constitutes part of the punishment annexed to the crime of high treason in France, and to great state crimes in many places. In the moment of popular fury, when violent resentment will not wait the slow determinations of the law to be appeased, it may admit of some extenuation; but that, in a civilized people, it should be a part of any legal decision, seems preposterous and unmeaning.—*T.*

ing carried to Attica, they there remained among their most inveterate enemies.

LXXIV. Cleomenes afterward fled to Thessaly; for, his treachery against Demaratus becoming manifest, he feared the resentment of the Spartans: from thence he went to Arcadia, where he endeavoured to raise a commotion, by stirring up the Arcadians against Sparta. Among other oaths, he exacted of them an engagement to follow him wherever he should think proper to conduct them. He particularly wished to carry the principal men to the city of Nonacris, there to make them swear by the waters of Styx. These waters are said to be found in this part of Arcadia: there is but little water, and it falls drop by drop from a rock into a valley, which is enclosed by a circular wall. Nonacris is an Arcadian city, near Phereos.

LXXV. When the Lacedæmonians heard what Cleomenes was doing, through fear of the consequences, they invited him back to Sparta, offering him his former dignity and station. Immediately on his return he was seized with madness, of which he had before discovered very strong symptoms: for, whatever citizen he happened to meet, he scrupled not to strike him on the face with his sceptre.*

* That princes and individuals of high rank carried their sceptres, or insignia of their dignity, frequently in their hands, may be concluded from various passages of ancient writers: many examples of this occur in Homer. When Thersites clamorously endeavoured to excite the Greeks to murmurs and sedition, Ulysses is described as striking him with the sceptre he had in his hand:

He said, and cowering as the dastard bends,
The weighty sceptre on his back descends:
On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise;
The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes.

The most ancient sceptre was probably a staff to rest on, for Ovid describes Jupiter as resting on his: it was a more ancient emblem of royalty than the crown: the first Roman who assumed the sceptre was Tarquin the Proud.—T.

This extravagant behaviour induced his friends to confine him in a pair of stocks: seeing himself on some occasion left with only one person to guard him, he demanded a sword: the man at first refused to obey him; but, finding him persist in his request, he at length, being a helot, and afraid of what he threatened, gave him one. Cleomenes, as soon as he received the sword, began to cut the flesh off his legs; from his legs he ascended to his loins, till at length, making gashes in his belly, he died. The Greeks in general consider his death as occasioned by his having bribed the Pythian* to give an answer against Demaratus. The Athenians alone assert that he was thus punished for having plundered the temple of the goddesses at Eleusis. The Argives say that it was because he had forced many of their countrymen from the refuge they had taken in the temple of Argos, and had not only put them to the sword, but had impiously set fire to the sacred wood.

LXXVI. Cleomenes, on consulting the Delphic oracle, had been told that he should certainly become master of Argos: he accordingly led a body of Spartans to the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake. This lake is believed to show itself a second time in the territories of Argos, after disappearing for some time in an immense gulf; it is then called by the Argives Erasinus. Arriving at this river, Cleomenes offered sacrifices to it: the entrails of the victim gave him no encouragement to pass the stream,† from which in-

* The disease of madness was frequently considered by the ancients as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts of impiety and wickedness. Orestes was struck with madness for killing his mother; Œdipus, for a similar crime; Ajax Oileus for violating the sanctity of a temple, &c.—*T*.

† In Lucan, when Cesar arrived on the banks of the Rubicon, the genius of his country is represented as appearing to him, in order to dissuade him from his purpose. The whole description is admirably beautiful.

eident he affected to praise the river-god for his attachment to his countrymen; but, nevertheless, vowed that the Argives should have no occasion to rejoice. From hence he advanced to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the ocean, and, embarking his forces, proceeded to Tirynthia and Nauplia.

LXXVII. The Argives, hearing of this, advanced to the sea to repel him: as soon as they came to Tirynthe, at a place called Sipia, they encamped in the Lacedæmonian territory, at no great distance from the enemy. They were not so much afraid of meeting their adversaries openly in the field, as of falling into an ambuscade: of this, indeed, they had been forewarned by the Pythian, in the declaration made jointly to the Milesians and themselves:

When* female hands the strength of man shall tame,
And among Argives gain a glorious name,
Women of Argos shall much grief display,
And thus shall one in future ages say:
"A serpent huge, which wreathed its body round,
From a keen sword received a mortal wound."

These incidents filled the Argives with the greatest terror; they accordingly resolved to regulate their motions by the herald of the adverse army: as often, therefore, as this officer communicated any

* The first part of this oracle is explained by what Pausanias and Plutarch, with little variation from each other, relate. The Argive women, taking arms under the conduct of Teterilla, repelled the attempts of Cleomenes on their city, with the loss of numbers of his men. Plutarch, after relating the above, adds some circumstances so very whimsical, that I may well be excused inserting them. "Some assert," says Plutarch, "that the above feat of the women was performed on the fourth of the month called Hermæus, when to this day they celebrate the feast called Hybristica, when the women are clothed as men, and the men as women." He proceeds to say that the women, to repair the want of men, having many of them lost their husbands, did not marry their servants, but first admitted the best of their neighbours to the rights of citizens, and afterward married them. But on their reproaching and insulting these husbands, a law passed that new-married women should wear beards.—T.

public order to the Lacedæmonians, they did the same.

LXXVIII. Cleomenes, taking notice that the Argives observed what the herald of his army announced, directed that when the signal should be given for his soldiers to dine, they should immediately take their arms and attack the Argives. The Lacedæmonians, on this, gave the signal for dinner: the Argives did the same; but while they were engaged in eating, the enemy rushed on them, slew a prodigious number, and surrounded many others, who, escaping from the field, took refuge in the grove of Argos.

LXXIX. While they remained here, Cleomenes determined on the following measure:—by means of some deserters he learned the names of all those Argives who had escaped to this grove: these he called out one by one, telling them that he had received their ransom: this, in the Peloponnesus, is a fixed sum, and is settled at two minæ for each captive. The number of the Argives was fifty, who, as they respectively came out, when called, Cleomenes put to death. This incident was unknown to those who remained in the asylum, the thickness of the wood not allowing them to see what passed: till at length, one climbing a tree saw the transaction, after which no one appeared when called.

LXXX. Cleomenes then ordered his helots to encompass the wood with materials for the purpose; and they obeying him, it was set on fire. While it was burning, Cleomenes desired to know of one of the fugitives to what divinity the grove was sacred. He replied, to Argos. At this the Lacedæmonian, in great agitation, exclaimed—"O Apollo, thy prediction has misled me, promising me that I should be master of Argos. Thy oracle has, I fear, no other termination."

LXXXI. Cleomenes afterward permitted the great-
HER.—II.—E

er part of his forces to return to Sparta; and, reserving only a select body of a thousand men, he went to offer sacrifice at the temple of Juno. Wishing to perform the ceremonies himself on the altar, the priest forbade him, saying it was a privilege granted to no foreigner. On this, he ordered the helots to drag the priest from the altar,* and beat him. He then sacrificed, and afterward returned to Sparta.

LXXXII. On his return he was accused before the ephor† of bribery, and of neglecting the opportunity he had of taking Argos. Whether the reply which Cleomenes made was true or false, I am not able to determine: he observed, that having taken possession of the temple of Argos, the prediction of the oracle seemed to him finally completed. He concluded, therefore, that he ought not to make any farther attempts on the city. till he could first be satisfied from his sacrifices whether the deity would assist or oppose him. When he was performing the sacred rites auspiciously in the temple of Juno, a flame of fire‡ burst from the bosom of the sacred

* A similar act of violence is recorded by Plutarch of Alexander the Great. Wishing to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the success of his designs against Persia, he happened to go there at a time which was deemed inauspicious, and the Pythian refused to do her office. Alexander on this went to her himself, and by personal violence dragged her to the temple: fatigued with her exertions against him, she at length exclaimed, "My son, you are invincible." The Macedonian prince expressed himself perfectly satisfied with her answer, and assured his soldiers that it was unnecessary to consult the deity any more.—T.

† The reader will remember that it was the particular office of the ephori to watch the conduct of the Spartan kings.—T.

‡ The appearance of fire self-kindled was generally deemed among the ancients an auspicious omen; but, like all other prodigies and modes of divination, they varied their conclusions concerning it according to the different circumstances and places in which it appeared. According to Pliny, Amphiarus was the first inventor of the divination by fire.

Delphus was the inventor of divination by the entrails of

image, which entirely convinced him that he should not take Argos. If this flame had issued from the head, he should have taken the place by storm; but its coming from the breast decisively declared that all the purposes of the deity were accomplished. His defence appeared plausible and satisfactory to his countrymen, and he was acquitted by a great majority.

LXXXIII. Argos, however, was deprived of so many of its citizens, that the slaves usurped the management of affairs, and executed the offices of government: but when the sons of those who had been slain grew up, they obtained possession of the city, and after some contest expelled the slaves, who retired to Tyrinthe, which they seized. They for a time forbore to molest each other, till Cleander, a soothsayer and an Arcadian, of the district of Phigasis, coming among them, he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. A tedious war followed, in which the Argives were finally, though with difficulty, victorious.

LXXXIV. The Argives affirm, that on account of the things before mentioned, Cleomenes lost his reason, and came to a miserable end. The Spartans, on the contrary, will not allow his madness to have been occasioned by any divine interposition; they say that, communicating with the Scythians,* he became a drinker of wine, and that this made him mad. The Scythian Nomades, after the invasion of their country by Darius, determined on revenge: with this view they sent ambassadors to form an

beasts, Amphiarus of that by fire, Tiresias the Theban of that of birds, and Amphictyon of the interpretation of prodigies and dreams.—*T*.

* See this story referred to in Athenæus, from whence we learn, that to imitate the Scythians became proverbial for intemperate drinking.—See also the Adagia of Erasmus, on the word *Episcythizare*. Hard drinking was in like manner characteristic of the Thracians.—See Horace.—*T*.

alliance with the Spartans. It was accordingly agreed that the Scythians should invade the country of the Medes by the side of the Phasis: the Spartans, advancing* from Ephesus, were to do the same, till the two armies formed a junction. With the Scythians sent on this business Cleomenes is said to have formed too great an intimacy, and thence to have contracted a habit of drinking, which injured the faculties of his mind. From which incident, whoever are desirous to drink intemperately are said to exclaim Episcythison, "Let us drink like Scythians." Such is the Spartan account of Cleomenes. To me, however, he seems to have been an object of the divine vengeance, on account of Demaratus.

LXXXV. The people of Ægina no sooner received intelligence of his death than they despatched emissaries to Sparta, to complain of Leutychides, for detaining their hostages at Athens. The Lacedæmonians, after a public consultation, were of opinion that Leutychides had greatly injured the inhabitants of Ægina; and they determined that he should be given up to them, and be carried to Ægina, instead of such of their countrymen as were detained at Athens. They were about to lead him away, when Theasides, son of Leopropis, a Spartan of approved worth, thus addressed them: "Men of Ægina! what would you do? would you take away a Spartan prince, whom his countrymen have given up? Although the Spartans have in anger come to this resolution, do ye not fear that they will one day, if you persist in your purpose, utterly destroy your coun-

* The word in Greek is *αναβασις*; and Larcher remarks, that this word is used in almost all the historians for to advance from the sea, and that therefore the retreat of the ten thousand was called by Xenophon the *Anabasis*. The illustration is however rather unfortunate, as the return of Xenophon was not from the sea, but from Cunaxa, an inland place on the Euphrates, to the sea at Trapezus, &c.—T.

try!" This expostulation induced the Æginetæ to change their first intentions: they nevertheless insisted that Leutychides should accompany them to Athens, and set their countrymen at liberty.

LXXXVI. When Leutychides arrived at Athens, and claimed the hostages, the Athenians, who were unwilling to give them up, demurred. They said, that as the two kings had jointly confided these men to their care, it would be unfair to give them up to one of them. On their final refusal to surrender them, Leutychides thus addressed them: "In this business, Athenians, you will do what you please: if you give up these men, you will act justly; if you do not, you will be dishonest. I am desirous, however, to relate to you what once happened in Sparta on a similar occasion: we have a tradition among us, that about three ages ago there lived in Lacedæmon a man named Glaucus, the son of Epycides: he was famous among his countrymen for many excellent qualities, and in particular for his integrity. We are told that in process of time a Milesian came to Sparta, purposely to solicit this man's advice. 'I am come,' said he, addressing him, 'from Miletus, to be benefited by your justice, the reputation of which, circulating through Greece, has arrived at Ionia. I have compared the insecure condition of Ionia with the undisturbed tranquillity of the Peloponnesus; and, observing that the wealth of my countrymen is constantly fluctuating, I have been induced to adopt this measure: I have converted half of my property into money, which, from the confidence of its being perfectly secure, I propose to deposite in your hands: take it, therefore, and with it these private marks; to the person who shall convince you that he knows them, you will return it.' The Milesian here finished, and Glaucus accepted his money on these conditions. After a long interval of time the sons of the above Milesian came to Sparta, and, presenting themselves before Glaucus,

produced the test agreed on, and claimed the money. He however rejected the application with anger, and assured them that he remembered nothing of the matter. 'If,' said he, 'I should hereafter be able to recollect the circumstance you mention, I will certainly do you justice, and restore that which you say I have received. If, on the contrary, your claim has no foundation, I shall avail myself of the laws of Greece against you: I therefore invite you to return to me again after a period of four months.' The Milesians accordingly departed in sorrow, considering themselves cheated of their money: Glaucus, on the other hand, went to consult the oracle at Delphi. On his inquiring whether he might absolve himself from returning the money by an oath, the priestess made him this reply:—

'Glaucus, thus much by swearing you may gain,
Through life the gold you safely may retain;
Swear then—remembering that the awful grave
Confounds alike the honest man and knave;
But still an oath a nameless offspring bears,
Which, though no feet it has, no arm uprears,
Swiftly the perjured villain will o'ertake,
And of his race entire destruction make;
While their descendants, who their oath regard,
Fortune ne'er fails to favour and reward.'

On this reply, Glaucus entreated the deity to forgive him; but he was told by the priestess that the intention and the action were alike criminal. Glaucus then sent for the Milesians, and restored the money. My motive, O Athenians! for making you this relation, remains to be told. At the present day no descendant of Glaucus, nor any traces of his family, are to be found; they are utterly extirpated from Sparta. Wherever, therefore, a trust has been reposed, it is an act of wisdom to restore it when demanded." Leutychides, finding that what he said made no impression on the Athenians, left the place.

LXXXVII. Before the *Æginetæ* had suffered for the insults formerly offered to the Athenians, with

the intention of gratifying the Thebans, they had done the following act of violence:—exasperated against the Athenians for some imagined injury, they prepared to revenge themselves. The Athenians had a quinquereme stationed at Sunium; of this vessel, which was the Theoris, and full of the most illustrious Athenians, they by some artifice obtained possession, and put all on board in irons. The Athenians instantly meditated the severest vengeance.

LXXXVIII. There was at Ægina a man greatly esteemed, the son of Cnæthus, his name Nicodromus. From some disgust against his countrymen, he had some time before left the island: hearing that the Athenians were determined on the ruin of Ægina, he agreed with them, on certain conditions, to deliver it into their hands. He appointed a particular day for the execution of his measures, when they also were to be ready to assist him. He proceeded in his purpose, and made himself master of what is called the old city.

LXXXIX. The Athenians were not punctual to their engagement; they were not prepared with a fleet able to contend with that of Ægina; and in the interval of their applying to the Corinthians for a re-enforcement of ships, the favourable opportunity was lost. The Corinthians, being at that time on very friendly terms with the Athenians, furnished them, at their request, with twenty ships: as their laws forbade them to give these ships, they sold them to their allies for five drachmæ each. With these, which, in addition to their own, made a fleet of seventy ships, the Athenians sailed to Ægina, where, however, they did not arrive till a day after the time appointed.

XC. The Athenians not appearing as had been stipulated, Nicodromus, accompanied by many of the Æginetæ, fled in a vessel from Ægina. The Athenians assigned Sunium for their residence, from whence they occasionally issued, to harass and

plunder the people of Ægina; but these things happened afterward.

XCI. The principal citizens of Ægina having overpowered such of the common people as had taken the part of Nicodromus against them, they proceeded to put their prisoners to death. On this occasion they committed an act of impiety, to atone for which all their earnest endeavours were unavailing; and before they could conciliate the goddess they were driven from the island. As they were conducting to execution seven hundred of the common people, whom they had taken alive, one of them, escaping from his chains, fled to the vestibule of the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros, and, seizing the hinges of the door, held them fast; unable to make him quit his hold, they cut off his hands, and dragged him away. His hands remained adhering to the valves of the door.

XCII. After the Æginetæ had thus punished their domestic enemies, the seventy vessels of the Athenians appeared, whom they engaged, and were conquered. In consequence of their defeat, they applied a second time to the Argives for assistance, which was refused; and for this reason: they complained that the ships of the Æginetæ which Cleomenes had violently seized had, in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, made a descent on their coast; to which act of violence some Sicyonian vessels had also contributed. For this the Argives had demanded, by way of compensation, a thousand talents, of which each nation was to pay five hundred. The Sicyonians apologized for their misconduct, and, paying one hundred talents, were excused the rest. The Æginetæ were too proud to make any concessions. The Argives, therefore, refused any public countenance to their application for assistance; but a body of about a thousand volunteers went over to them, under the conduct of Eurybates, a man very skilful in the contests of the Pentathlon.

The greater part of these returned no more, but were slain by the Athenians at Ægina. Eurybates, their leader, victorious in three different single combats, was killed in a fourth, by Sophanes, a Dece-
lian.

XCIII. The Æginetæ, taking advantage of some confusion on the part of the Athenians, attacked their fleet, and obtained a victory, taking four of their ships, with all their crews.

XCIV. While these two nations were thus engaged in hostilities, the domestic of the Persian monarch continued regularly to bid him "Remember the Athenians;"* which incident was farther enforced by the unremitting endeavours of the Pisistratidæ to criminate that people. The king himself was very glad of this pretext, effectually to reduce such of the Grecian states as had refused him "earth and water." He accordingly removed from his command Mardonius, who had been unsuccessful in his naval undertakings; he appointed two other officers to commence an expedition against Eretria and Athens; these were Datis, a native of Media, and Artaphernes, his nephew, who were commanded totally to subdue both the above places, and to bring the inhabitants captive before him.

XCV. These commanders, as soon as they had received their appointment, advanced to Aleium in Cilicia with a large and well-provided body of in-

* This incident will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader what is related of the Macedonian Philip; who, to prevent pride and insolence taking too entire a possession of his heart, from his victories and great prosperity, enjoined a domestic every morning to exclaim to him, "Remember, Philip, thou art a man." The word "remember" is memorable in English history. It was the last word pronounced by Charles the First to Dr. Juxon on the scaffold. Dr. Juxon gave a plausible answer to the minister of Cromwell, who interrogated him on the subject; but many are still of opinion that it involved some mystery never known but by the individuals to whom it immediately related.—*T.*

fantry. Here, as soon as they encamped, they were joined by a numerous re-enforcement of marines, agreeably to the orders which had been given. Not long afterward those vessels arrived to take the cavalry on board, which, in the preceding year, Darius had commanded his tributaries to supply. The horse and foot immediately embarked and proceeded to Ionia, in a fleet of six hundred triremes. They did not, keeping along the coast, advance in a right line to Thrace and the Hellespont; but, loosing from Samos, they passed through the midst of the islands, and the Icarian Sea;* fearing, as I should suppose, to double the promontory of Athos, by which they had, in the former year, severely suffered. They were farther induced to this course by the Island of Naxos, which before they had omitted to take.

XCVI. Proceeding, therefore, from the Icarian Sea to this island, which was the first object of their enterprise, they met with no resistance. The Naxians, remembering their former calamities, fled in alarm to the mountains. Those taken captive were made slaves; the sacred buildings and the city were burnt. This done, the Persians sailed to the other islands.

XCVII. At this juncture the inhabitants of Delos deserted their island and fled to Tenos. To Delos the Persian fleet was directing its course, when Datis, hastening to the van, obliged them to station themselves at Rhenea, which lies beyond it. As soon as he learned to what place the Delians had retired, he sent a herald to them with this message:—"Why, O sacred people! do you fly, thinking so injuriously of me? If I had not received particular directions from the king my master to this effect, I, of my own accord, would never have molested you, nor offered violence to a place in which two deities

* The story of Dædalus and Icarus, and that the Icarian Sea was so named from its being the supposed grave of Icarus, must be sufficiently notorious.—T.

were born. Return, therefore, and inhabit your island as before." Having sent this message, he offered on one of their altars incense to the amount of three hundred talents.

XCVIII. After this measure Datis led his whole army against Eretria, taking with him the Ionians and Æolians. The Delians say, that at the moment of his departure the Island of Delos was affected by a tremulous motion, a circumstance which, as the Delians affirm, never happened before or since. The deity, as it should seem by this prodigy, forewarned mankind* of the evils which were about to happen. Greece certainly suffered more and greater calamities during the reigns of Darius son of Hystaspes, Xerxes son of Darius, and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, than in all the preceding twenty generations: these calamities arose partly from the Persians, and partly from the contentions for power among its own great men. It was not, therefore, without reason, that Delos, immoveable before, should then be shaken; which event, indeed, had been predicted by the oracle:

"Although Delos be immoveable, I will shake it."

It is also worth observation, that, translated into the Greek tongue, Darius signifies one who compels; Xerxes, a warrior; Artaxerxes, a great warrior; and thus they would call them if they used the corresponding terms.

XCIX. The barbarians, sailing from Delos to the other islands, took on board re-enforcements from them all, together with the children of the inhabitants as hostages. Cruising round the different islands, they arrived off Carystos; but the people

* See the beautiful use which Virgil in his first Georgic has made of the credulity of mankind with respect to prognostics; and in particular his episode on those supposed to precede the death of Julius Cesar.

See also the prodigies described by Lucan, as preceding the battle of Pharsalia.

of this place positively refused either to give hostages, or to serve against their neighbours Athens and Eretria. They were consequently besieged, and their lands wasted ; and they were finally compelled to surrender themselves to the Persians.

C. The Eretrians, on the approach of the Persian army, applied to the Athenians for assistance : this the Athenians did not think proper to withhold : they accordingly sent them the four thousand men to whom those lands had been assigned which formerly belonged to the Chalcidian cavalry ; but the Eretrians, notwithstanding their application to the Athenians, were far from being firm and determined. They were so divided in their resolutions, that while some of them advised the city to be deserted, and a retreat made to the rocks of Eubœa, others, expecting a reward from the Persians, prepared to betray their country. Æschines, the son of Nothion, an Eretrian of the highest rank, observing these different sentiments, informed the Athenians of the state of affairs, advising them to return home, lest they should be involved in the common ruin. The Athenians attended to this advice of Æschines, and, by passing over to Oropus, escaped the impending danger.

CI. The Persians, arriving at Eretria, came near Temenos, Chæreas, and Ægilia : making themselves masters of these places, they disembarked the horse, and prepared to attack the enemy. The Eretrians did not think proper to advance and engage them ; the opinion for defending the city had prevailed, and their whole attention was occupied in preparing for a siege. The Persians endeavoured to storm the place ; and a contest of six days was attended with very considerable loss on both sides. On the seventh the city was betrayed to the enemy by two of the more eminent citizens, Euphorbus, son of Alcimachus, and Philagrus, son of Cyneas. As soon as the Persians got possession of the place they pil-

laged and burnt the temples, to avenge the burning of their temples at Sardis. The people, according to the orders of Darius, were made slaves.*

CII. After this victory at Eretria, the Persians stayed a few days, and then sailed to Attica, driving all before them, and thinking to treat the Athenians as they had done the Eretrians. There was a place in Attica called Marathon, not far from Eretria, well adapted for the motions of cavalry: to this place, therefore, they were conducted by Hippias, son of Pisistratus.

CIII. As soon as the Athenians heard this they advanced to the same spot, under the conduct of ten leaders, with a view of repelling force by force. The last of these was Miltiades. His father, Cimon, son of Stesagoras, had been formerly driven from Athens by the influence of Pisistratus,† son of Hippocrates. During his exile he had obtained the prize at the olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horses. This honour, however, he transferred‡

* The first slaves were doubtless those made captive in war. By the injunction of Darius, so often repeated in Herodotus, and, as we perceive, so strictly enforced, we may understand that the Greeks here taken captive were obliged, in menial occupations, to wait on the persons of their conquerors. Darius in general treated his captives with extraordinary lenity; it was only against the Greeks, who had in a particular manner provoked his indignation, that we find him thus particular in his severity to those taken prisoners.—*T.*

† I have in different places related many anecdotes of this Pisistratus: I have one now before me in *Ælian*, which ought not to be omitted. If he met any person who seemed to be idle, he asked him why he was unemployed? "If," he would say, "your oxen are dead, take mine, and go to your usual business in the field; if you want seed, take some of mine." This he did, says *Ælian*, lest the idleness of these people should prompt them to raise seditious plots against him.—*T.*

‡ This thing we find it was a frequent practice to do. From *Pausanias* we learn a singular fact: that they who obtained the prize at wrestling, being unable to substitute any person in their room, were accustomed to take bribes to declare themselves natives of places to which they did not belong. The same au-

HER.—III.—F

to Miltiades, his uterine brother. At the olympic games which next followed he was again victorious, and with the same mares. This honour he suffered to be assigned to Pisistratus, on condition of his being recalled: a reconciliation ensued, and he was permitted to return. Being victorious a third time on the same occasion, and with the same mares, he was put to death by the sons of Pisistratus, Pisistratus himself being then dead. He was assassinated in the night, near Prytaneum, by some villains sent for the purpose; he was buried in the approach to the city, near the hollow way; and in the same spot were interred the mares* which had three times obtained the prize in the olympic games. If we except the mares of Evagoras of Sparta, none other ever obtained a similar honour. At this period Stesagoras, the eldest son of Cimon, resided in the Chersonesus with his uncle Miltiades: the youngest was brought up at Athens under Cimon himself, and named Miltiades, from the founder of the Chersonesus.

CIV. This Miltiades, the Athenian leader, in advancing from the Chersonesus, escaped from two incidents which alike threatened his life: as far as Imbros he was pursued by the Phœnicians, who were exceedingly desirous to take him alive, and present him to the king: on his return home, where he thought himself secure, his enemies accused, and brought him to a public trial, under pretence of his

thor informs us, that Dionysius the tyrant frequently sent agents to Olympia to bribe the conquerors to declare themselves natives of Syracuse. It is proper to add, that they who were mean enough thus to sacrifice the glory of their country to their avarice, or, perhaps, as it might occasionally happen, their pride, were subject to the punishment of exile from those cities to which they did really belong.—*T.*

* See this fact mentioned by Ælian in his *History of Animals*, l. xii. c. 40: where we are also told that Evagoras, mentioned in the subsequent paragraph, in like manner buried his victorious horses.—*T.*

aiming at the sovereignty of the Chersonesus: from this also he escaped, and was afterward chosen a general of the Athenians, by the suffrages of the people.

CV. The Athenian leaders, before they left the city, despatched Phidippides to Sparta: he was an Athenian by birth, and his daily employment was to deliver messages. To this Phidippides, as he himself affirmed, and related to the Athenians, the god Pan appeared on Mount Parthenius,* which is beyond Tegea. The deity called him by his name, and commanded him to ask the Athenians why they so entirely neglected him,† who not only wished them well, but who had frequently rendered them service, and would do so again. All this the Athenians believed; and as the state of their affairs permitted, they erected a temple to Pan‡ near the citadel:

* This place was so named, quasi Virgineus, from the virgins who there offered sacrifice to Venus, or enjoyed the exercise of hunting. Pausanias, in his eighth book, speaks of a temple here erected to Pan, "in the very place," says he, "where the god appeared to Phidippides, and gave him some important advice."

—T.

† The note of Larcher on this passage seems a little remarkable: I therefore give it at length.

"Clemens of Alexandria says, that the Athenians did not even know Pan before Phidippides told them of his existence. With the respect due to a father of the church, this reasoning does not to me seem just; because the Athenians had not yet instituted festivals in honour of Pan, it by no means follows that they knew nothing of him. The majority of feasts instituted in Catholic countries in honour of saints are greatly posterior to the period of their deaths, and take their date, like those of Pan among the Athenians, from the time when their protection and its effects were for the first time experienced."

If this be not a sneer at the Romish saints, it is certainly very like one.—T.

‡ This sacred building to Pan is mentioned by Pausanias, l. i. c. 28. After the battle of Marathon, they sung in honour of this deity a hymn, which is given by Athenæus; but more correctly by Brunck, in his *Analecta*. Brunck, however, and Wyttenbach, are both of opinion that this hymn alluded to a victory obtained by some poet at the Panathenæa.

ever since the above period they venerate the god by annual sacrifices, and the race of torches.*

CVI. Phidippides, who was sent by the Athenian generals, and who related his having met with Pan, arrived at Sparta on the second day of his departure from Athens. He went immediately to the magistrates, and thus addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon! the Athenians supplicate your assistance, and entreat you not to suffer the most ancient city of Greece to fall into the hands of the barbarians: Eretria is already subdued, and Greece weakened by the loss of that illustrious place." After the above speech of Phidippides, the Lacedæmonians resolved to assist the Athenians; but they were prevented from doing this immediately by the prejudice of an inveterate custom. This was the ninth day of the month, and it was a practice with them to undertake no enterprise before the moon was at the full;† for this, therefore, they waited.

* The manner of this race was as follows:—A man with a torch in his hand ran from the altar of the god in whose honour the race was celebrated, to some certain spot, without extinguishing his torch: if the torch went out he gave it to a second, and he to a third, if he met with the same accident: if the third was also unfortunate, the victory was adjudged to no one.

This feast was celebrated in honour of various deities, as of Minerva, Vulcan, Prometheus, Pan, Æsculapius, &c. In the Panathenæa, or feasts of Minerva, the Lampadophori ran from the Pyræum; from the Ceramicus, or academy, in those of Vulcan or Prometheus. There was in the academy a statue of Cupid, consecrated by Pisistratus, where they lighted the sacred torches in the courses instituted in honour of these gods. The same honour was rendered to Pan, as we learn from this passage in Herodotus, and in the manuscript lexicon of Photius.

† To this custom various authors allude, and among others Lucretius.

I am of opinion that there is an allusion to this custom also in an epigram of Alcæus of Messina, preserved in Brunck:

Beauty having a torch in his hand runs swiftly.—*Larcher*.

† I will first give the reader what Plutarch, in his Essay on the Malignity of Herodotus, remarks on this passage, and afterward the observation of Larcher which seems to me at

CVII. In the night before Hippias conducted the barbarians to the plains of Marathon he saw this vision: he thought that he was with his mother.* The inference which he drew from this was, that he

least a sufficient and satisfactory answer to the censure of Plutarch.

"Herodotus is also evidently convicted of reporting falsely of the Lacedæmonians, saying, that, waiting for the full moon, they did not assist the Athenians at Marathon; but they not only made numberless military excursions at the beginning of the month, and without waiting for the full moon, but they wanted so very little of being present at this battle, which took place on the sixth day of the month Boedromion, that on their arrival they found the dead still lying in the field. Yet Herodotus has thus written concerning the full moon." Plutarch then adds the passage before us; after which he says, "Thou, O Herodotus! transferrest the full moon to the beginning of the month, when she is but yet in her first quarter, and at the same time confoundest the heavens, days, and all things."

"The Lacedæmonians," says Larcher, "did not commence a march before the full moon. This is confirmed by the evidence of Pausanias; of Lucian, in his Tract on Astrology, c. 25, who imputes this regulation to Lycurgus; and of the author of the Tract on Rivers, printed among the works of Plutarch; of Hermodorus also, and others. In defiance of these authorities, Plutarch, not satisfied with denying the fact, asserts that the battle of Marathon took place on the sixth of the month Boedromion, and that the Lacedæmonians, having arrived a short time after the battle, must consequently have begun their march before the full moon. But is it possible to believe that Plutarch, who lived six ages after that battle, should be better informed concerning its date than Herodotus, who often communicated with those who were there in person? Plutarch, who always represents Herodotus as a malignant wretch, still allows him the praise of ingenuity; but, if he had been dull as any Boeotian, I much doubt whether he could have dared to advance a falsehood like this, concerning a matter so very recent, and of which there were still so many evidences, when he recited his history at the olympic games."

* This was considered as a fortunate dream; for, in a case like this, a man's mother intimated his country. Cesar had a similar dream; at which, although, as Larcher observes, he affected to disbelieve the immortality of the soul, he was rendered uneasy; but the interpreters of dreams, easily, as we may suppose, revived his spirits, by assuring him that he should one day become the master of the world.

should again return to Athens, be restored to his authority, and die in his own house of old age : he was then executing the office of a general. The prisoners taken in Eretria he removed to Ægilea, an island belonging to the Styreans ; the vessels which arrived at Marathon he stationed in the port, and drew up the barbarians in order as they disembarked. While he was thus employed he was seized with a fit of sneezing,* attended with a very unusual cough. The agitation into which he was thrown, being an old man, was so violent, that, as his teeth were loose, one of them dropped out of his mouth on the sand. Much pains were taken to find it, but in vain : on which Hippias remarked with a sigh to those around him, "This country is not ours, nor shall we ever become masters of it :—my lost tooth possesses all that belongs to me."

CVIII. Hippias conceived that he saw in the above incident the accomplishment of his vision. In the meantime the Athenians, drawing them-

* The act of sneezing was considered as an auspicious omen, at least we find Penelope in the *Odyssey* welcoming it as such from Telemachus :

She spoke—Telemachus then sneezed aloud ;
Constrain'd, his nostrils echo'd through the crowd ;
The smiling queen the happy omen bless'd ;
So may these impious fall by fate oppress'd.

Pliny says that sneezing in the morning was unlucky, sneezing at noon fortunate ; to sneeze to the right was lucky ; to the left, and near a place of burial, the reverse. The Latins, when any one sneezed, "*salvere jusserunt*," or, as we should say, cried, "save you ;" which custom remains to the present period, but for which antiquarians account very differently : but it is generally believed to have arisen from some disease, with which those who were infected inevitably died. Aristotle's account seems as satisfactory as any other why it should be deemed auspicious : "It is," says he, "a motion of the brain, which, through the nostrils, expels what is offensive, and in some degree demonstrates internal strength." He adds, "that medical people, if they were able to provoke the act of sneezing from their patients, who might be thought dangerously indisposed, conceived hopes of their recovery."—*T.*

selves up in military order near the temple of Hercules, were joined by the whole force of the Plateans. The Athenians had formerly submitted to many difficulties on account of the Plateans, who now, to return the obligation, gave themselves up to their direction. The occasion was this: the Plateans, being oppressed by the Thebans, solicited the protection of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, and of such Lacedæmonians as were at hand: they disclaimed, however, any interference, for which they assigned this reason: "From us," said they, "situated at so great a distance, you can expect but little assistance; for, before we can even receive intelligence of your danger, you may be effectually reduced to servitude: we would rather recommend you to apply to the Athenians, who are not only near, but able to protect you." The Lacedæmonians, in saying this, did not so much consider the interest of the Plateans as they were desirous of seeing the Athenians harassed by a Bœotian war. The advice was nevertheless accepted; and the Plateans going to Athens, first offered a solemn sacrifice to the twelve divinities, and then, sitting near the altar, in the attitude of supplicants, they placed themselves formally under the protection of the Athenians. On this the Thebans led an army against Platea; to defend which the Athenians appeared with a body of forces. As the two armies were about to engage, the Corinthians interfered: their endeavours to reconcile them so far prevailed, that it was agreed, on the part of both nations, to suffer such of the people of Bœotia as did not choose to be ranked as Bœotians to follow their own inclinations. Having effected this the Corinthians retired, and their example was followed by the Athenians; these latter were, on their return, attacked by the Bœotians, whom they defeated. Passing over the boundaries which the Corinthians had marked out, they determined that Asopus and Hysias should be the future

limits between the Thebans and Plateans. The Plateans, having thus given themselves up to the Athenians, came to their assistance at Marathon.

CIX. The Athenian leaders were greatly divided in opinion; some thought that a battle was by no means to be hazarded, as they were so inferior to the Medes in point of number; others, among whom was Miltiades, were anxious to engage the enemy. Of these contradictory sentiments the less politic appeared most likely to prevail, when Miltiades addressed himself to the polemarch,* whose name was Callimachus of Aphidnæ. This magistrate, elected into his office by vote, has the privilege of a casting voice; and, according to established custom, is equal in point of dignity and influence to the military leaders. Miltiades addressed him thus: "On you, O Callimachus! it alone depends, whether Athens shall be enslaved, or whether, in the preservation of its liberties, it shall perpetuate your name even beyond the glory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Our country is now reduced to a more delicate and dangerous predicament than it has ever before experienced: if conquered, we know our fate, and must prepare for the tyranny of Hippias; if we overcome, our city may be made the first in Greece. How this may be accomplished, and in what manner it depends on you, I will explain: the sentiments of our ten leaders are divided; some are desirous of an engagement, others the contrary. If we do not engage, some seditious tumult will probably arise, which may prompt many of our citizens

* The polemarch was the third of the nine archons; it was his business to offer sacrifice to Diana, surnamed Agrotera, and to Mars; he had the care and protection of all strangers and foreigners who resided at Athens, over whom he had the same authority as the archon had over the citizens; he regulated the funeral games celebrated in honour of those who died in war: he was also to see that the children of those who lost their lives in the public service had a sufficient maintenance from the public treasury.—*T.*

to favour the cause of the Medes; if we come to a battle before any evil of this kind takes place, we may, if the gods be not against us, reasonably hope for victory: all these things are submitted to your attention, and are suspended on your will. If you accede to my opinion, our country will be free, our city the first in Greece; if you shall favour the opinions of those who are averse to an engagement, you may expect the contrary of all the good I have enumerated."

CX. These arguments of Miltiades produced the desired effect on Callimachus, from whose interposition it was determined to fight. Those leaders* who from the first had been solicitous to engage the enemy, resigned to Miltiades the days of their respective command. This he accepted; but did not think proper to commence the attack till the day of his own particular command arrived in its course.

CXI. When this arrived, the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the following order: Callimachus, as polemarch, commanded the right wing, in conformity with the established custom of the Athenians; next followed the tribes, ranged in close order according to their respective ranks; the Plateans, placed in the rear, formed the left wing. Ever since this battle, in those solemn and public sacrifices which are celebrated every fifth year, the herald implores happiness for the Plateans jointly with the Athenians. Thus the Athenians produced a front equal in extent to that of the Medes. The ranks in the centre were not very deep, which of

* Of the ten Athenian generals, it was customary to elect one from each tribe; on which occasion a memorable saying of Philip of Macedon is preserved by Plutarch in his apothegms:—"I envy," says Philip, "the good fortune of the Athenians; they every year can find ten men qualified to command their troops, while I, on my part, am only able to find Parmenion, who is capable of conducting mine."—*T.*

course constituted their weakest part ; but the two wings were more numerous and strong.

CXII. The preparations for the attack being thus made, and the appearance of the victims favourable, the Athenians ran towards the barbarians. There was between the two armies an interval of about eight furlongs. The Persians, seeing them approach by running, prepared to receive them ; and as they observed the Athenians to be few in number, destitute both of cavalry and archers, they considered them as mad, and rushing on certain destruction ; but as soon as the Greeks mingled with the enemy they behaved with the greatest gallantry.* They were the first Greeks that I know of who ran to attack an enemy : they were the first, also, who beheld without dismay the dress and armour of the Medes ; for hitherto in Greece the very name of a Mede excited terror.

CXIII. After a long and obstinate contest, the barbarians in the centre, composed of the Persians and the Sacæ, obliged the Greeks to give way, and pursued the flying foe into the middle of the country. At the same time the Athenians and Plateans, in the two wings, drove the barbarians before them ; then making an inclination towards each other, by contracting themselves, they formed against that part of the enemy which had penetrated and defeated the Grecian centre, and obtained a complete victory,† killing a prodigious number, and pursuing the

* Xenophon says that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice five hundred. Ælian, with some slight variation, relates the same fact. We read in the scholiast on Aristophanes, that Callimachus the polemarch vowed to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies ; and, unable to obtain a sufficient number, he substituted goats in their room.—Plutarch reproaches Herodotus for saying nothing of this vow.—*Larcher.*

† “It is surprising,” says Larcher, “that in his account of

rest to the sea, where they set fire to their vessels.

CXIV. Callimachus the polemarch, after the most signal acts of valour, lost his life in this battle. Ste-sileus, also, the son of Thrasyllus, and one of the Grecian leaders, was slain. Cynægirus,* son of Euphorion, after seizing one of the vessels by the poop, had his hand cut off with an axe, and died of his wounds: with these, many other eminent Athenians perished.

CXV. In addition to their victory, the Athenians obtained possession of several of the enemy's vessels. The barbarians retired with their fleet, and ta-

this battle, Herodotus makes no mention of Aristides: his silence is amply supplied by Plutarch. Aristides was one of those who advised an engagement; and, when the day of his particular command arrived, gave up his right to Miltiades, and the other generals followed his example. Themistocles and Aristides were the two commanders who, at the head of their different tribes, drove the Persians to their ships. Aristides was left on the field to guard the prisoners and booty: the confidence placed in him by his country was not disappointed; the gold and silver which was scattered about, the tents and vessels which were taken, full of splendid and valuable effects, he neither touched himself, nor would permit others to do so."

* He was the brother of Æschylus, the celebrated tragic poet: he distinguished himself at the battle of Marathon, but it does not appear that he had any separate command. A remarkable incident is related by Lucan of a man, who, seizing the beak of his enemy's ship, had his hand cut off; undismayed by which, he seized it with the other, of which also he was deprived.

He, the bold youth, as board and board they stand,
Fix'd on a Roman ship his daring hand;
Full on his arm a mighty blow descends,
And the torn limb from off his shoulder rends;
The rigid nerves are cramp'd with stiff'ning cold,
Convulsive grasp, and still retain their hold;
Nor sunk his valour, by the pain depress'd,
But nobler rage inflamed his mangled breast:
His left remaining hand the combat tries,
And fiercely forth to catch the right he flies;
The same hard destiny the left demands,
And now a naked, helpless trunk he stands, &c.—*T.*

king on board the Eretrian plunder, which they had left in the island, they passed the promontory of Sunium, thinking to circumvent the Athenians, and arrive at their city before them. The Athenians impute the prosecution of this measure to one of the Alcmaeonidæ, who, they say, held up a shield* as a signal to the Persians when they were under sail.

CXVI. While they were doubling the Cape of Sunium, the Athenians lost no time in hastening to the defence of their city, and effectually prevented the designs of the enemy. Retiring from the temple of Hercules, on the plains of Marathon, they fixed their camp near another temple of the same deity, in Cynosargis. The barbarians, anchoring off Phalerum, the Athenian harbour, remained there some time, and then retired to Asia.

CXVII. The Persians lost† in the battle of Mara-

* "For my part," says Reiske, "I by no means clearly understand this passage: to whom did the Alcmaeonidæ show the shield—to the Persians or Athenians? Certainly not to the last, for the Athenians were then in their camp. To the Persians, then?—But why to these? To hold up a shield is, according to Diodorus Siculus, a signal for battle; but why should the Alcmaeonidæ hold up a shield to the Persians, who were on board their vessels, as a signal to engage a body of land-forces?"

The above reasoning of Reiske seems far from satisfactory. If any previous agreement existed between the Alcmaeonidæ and the Persians, the holding up of the shield might intimate what could only be known to the persons concerned; and, so far from being a signal of battle, might suggest entirely the reverse, and tell them that this was no proper time to hazard an attack. The art of signal-making is now brought to an extraordinary degree of perfection; and at sea in particular, orders of the minutest kind are communicated, and distinctly understood, by the simplest process imaginable, hoisting or lowering colours, sails, &c. The more common signal, as being the more obvious in ancient times, was by fire. In Æschylus, Agamemnon tells Clytemnestra that he will inform her of the capture of Troy by lighting fires: this is represented as being done, and a messenger comes to inform the queen that Troy is taken, for Agamemnon's signals had been seen.—*T*.

† Plutarch remarks on this passage, that Herodotus derogates

thou six thousand four hundred men, the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two. In the heat of the engagement a most remarkable incident occurred: an Athenian, the son of Cuphagoras, whose name was Epizelus, while valiantly fighting, was suddenly struck with blindness. He had received no wound, nor any kind of injury; notwithstanding which he continued blind for the remainder of his life. I have been informed that Epizelus, in relating this calamity, always declared that during the battle he was opposed by a man of gigantic stature, completely armed, whose beard covered the whole of his shield: he added that the spectre, passing him, killed the man who stood next him. This, as I have heard, was the narrative of Epizelus.*

CXVIII. Datis, on his return with the fleet to Asia, being at Mycone, saw in the night a vision; the particulars of it are not related; but, as soon as the morning appeared, he examined every vessel of the fleet: finding a golden image of Apollo on board a Phœnician ship, he inquired from whence it had been taken: having learned to what temple it belonged, he took it himself in his own ship to Delos. The Delians being returned to their island, he first deposited the image in the temple, and then enjoined the inhabitants to remove it to the Theban Delium,

from the honour of the victory, by misrepresenting and diminishing the number of the slain. Some have affirmed that the Persians lost two hundred thousand men; but the account of Herodotus certainly appears the more probable.

The battle of Marathon, according to Pausanias, was represented in the portico at Athens called Pœcile, from the variety of paintings on its walls. In this picture the most celebrated Athenian and Platean heroes were drawn from the life: in one part the barbarians are flying into the marsh, and in the other the Greeks are slaughtering the enemy as they are entering the Phœnician vessels.

* Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, says, that numbers of those who fought at the battle of Marathon believed that they saw at the head of their ranks Theseus in arms, attacking the Persians.—T.

HER.—III.—G

which is on the seacoast opposite to Chalcis. Having done this, Datis returned: the Delians paid no attention to his request; but, in the twentieth year after the above event, the Thebans removed the image to Delium, by the command of an oracle.

CXIX. Datis and Artaphernes, sailing to Asia, carried the captive Eretrians* to Susa. Darius, before their defeat, had expressed the severest indignation against them, as having first and unjustly commenced hostilities: but, when they were conducted to his presence, effectually humbled and reduced to his power, he showed no farther resentment, but appointed them a residence at a place called Ardericca, in the district of Cissia, one of the royal stations. This is distant from Susa two hundred and ten furlongs, and forty from a well which produces the three substances of bitumen, salt, and oil: it is drawn up with an engine, to which a kind of bucket is suspended, made of half a skin: it is then poured into one cistern, and afterward removed into a second. The substances by this process separate; the bitumen and the salt form themselves into distinct masses. The Persians collect the oil, which they call rhadinace, into vessels: this last is of a dark colour, and has a strong smell. In this place Darius placed the Eretrians; and here, to my memory, they have remained, preserving their ancient language.

CXX. After the moon had passed the full,† a body

* Larcher tells us from Philostratus, that the Persians took seven hundred and eighty prisoners at Eretria, but that a great many escaped among the rocks of Eubœa, and that only four hundred were carried to Susa, among whom were ten women.

† Mankind, in all ages, from observing the visible operations of the moon on the ocean, have supposed its influence to extend not only to human affairs, but to the state of the human body. The justly celebrated Dr. Mead wrote a treatise, entitled *De imperio Solis et Lunæ in Corpore Humano*; but all those prejudices and this superstition are now exploded, by the more satisfactory deductions of a sound philosophy. It has been reason-

of two thousand Lacedæmonians arrived at Athens : such was their expedition, that they reached Attica in three days from their leaving Sparta. They did not arrive till after the battle ; but so great was their desire of beholding the Medes, that, to gratify their curiosity, they proceeded to Marathon ; they then returned, after congratulating the Athenians on their prowess and victory.

CXXI. I am equally astonished at having heard, and reluctant to believe, that the Alcmaeonidæ held up a shield by way of signal to the Persians, wishing to subject the Athenians to the power of the barbarians and Hippias. No man, in his hatred against all tyrants, could possibly exceed, or even equal, Callias, the son of Phænippus, and father of Hipponicus. Callias* was ever distinguished by his

ably urged, that as the most accurate and subtle barometers are not at all affected by the various positions of the moon, it is very unlikely that the human body should be within the sphere of its influence. Some travellers have remarked, that in the countries of the East it is customary to prefer the time of the new moon to begin a journey ; from this peculiarity Mr. Harmer takes occasion to comment on Proverbs, and 1 Samuel, which passage he explains by referring them to some similar prejudice among the ancient Jews :

Proverbs vii. 19, 20. "The good man is not at home ; he is gone a long journey ; he hath taken a bag of money in his hand, and will come home at the *appointed time*."—"The appointed time," says Mr. Harmer, "may properly be rendered the *new moon*."

1 Samuel xx. 24. "So David hid himself in the field ; and when the *new moon* was come, the king sat him down to eat meat."—*T*.

* A whimsical story is told of this Callias in Plutarch's life of Aristides ; he was a man of mean rank ; but, happening to be at the battle of Marathon, was taken by a barbarian for a king, on account of his long hair, and a bandage which he wore round his forehead. The Persian fell at his feet, and discovered to him a prodigious quantity of gold in a ditch : Callias slew him, and took the money. But how does this accord with what is elsewhere written of Aristides, that he remained on the field, and prevented the plunder being taken by any private hands ?—*T*

implacable animosity against Pisistratus; and when the tyrant was expelled, and his effects sold by public auction, he was the only man who dared to become a purchaser.

CXXII. The above personage deserves to be remembered, not only for what we have already mentioned, proving him a man extremely zealous for the liberties of his country, but for the honours he obtained* at the olympic games. He obtained the first prize in the horse-race; the second in that of the chariots drawn by four horses: at the Pythian games he was also victorious, on which occasion he treated the Greeks with great magnificence.† His liberality, also, to his three daughters, was equally conspicuous: as soon as they were of age to marry he assigned them a noble portion, and suffered each to choose her husband from among all the Athenians.

CXXIII. But all the Alcmaeonidæ, as well as Callias, were remarkable for their enmity to tyrants. I am, therefore, the more astonished to hear, and unwilling to believe, the circumstance imputed to them, of holding up a shield as a signal to the Persians. While a system of tyranny prevailed in their country, they lived in voluntary exile; and it was by their contrivance that the Pisistratidæ resigned their power: for these reasons they seem to me to have more assisted the cause of freedom than either Harmodius or Aristogiton. These latter, by de-

* The whole of this passage is wanting in many manuscripts; Valckenaer seems to think it has no business here; and Larcher thinks it was inserted by some sophist, who wished to pay his court to Hipponicus, son of this Callias.—T.

† I presume it was customary to do this in proportion to the rank and affluence of the victor. I find in Athenæus several examples to this effect. Alcibiades, in consequence of being victorious at the Olympic games, offered a sacrifice to the Olympian Jupiter, and gave an entertainment to all the assembly of Olympia. Ion of Chios, having obtained the prize for his tragedy, gave to every Athenian a flask of Chian wine.—T.

stroying Hipparchus, so far from repressing the ambitious designs of the other Pisistratidæ, only inflamed them the more. The Alcmaeonidæ were avowedly the deliverers of Athens, if indeed it was at their suggestion that the Pythian, as I have before described, enjoined the Lacedæmonians to restore its freedom.

CXXIV. It may be asked, whether they were induced to betray their country from any resentment against the people of Athens; but no individuals were more illustrious at Athens, or held in more general estimation. The story, therefore, of the shield, imputed to this motive, contradicts probability: that a shield was held up, cannot be disputed; but by whom, I can by no means farther determine.

CXXV. The Alcmaeonidæ were always among the most distinguished characters of Athens; but Alcmaeon himself, and Megacles, his immediate descendant, were more particularly illustrious. Alcmaeon, son of Megacles, received with great kindness, and obliged by many services, those Lydians whom Cræsus sent from Sardis to consult the oracle at Delphi. On their return they did not omit to acquaint Cræsus with his benevolence: he instantly sent for him to Sardis, and presented him with as much gold as he was able to carry. To improve the value of this gift, Alcmaeon made use of the following artifice:—providing himself with a large tunic, in which were many folds, and with the most capacious buskins he could procure, he followed his guide to the royal treasury; there rolling himself among the golden ingots, he first stuffed his buskins as full of gold as possibly he could; he then filled all the folds of his robes, his hair, and even his mouth, with gold-dust. This done, with extreme difficulty he staggered from the place; from his swelling mouth, and projections all around him, resembling any thing rather than a man. When

Croesus saw him, he burst into laughter; and not only suffered him to carry away all that he had got, but added other presents equally valuable. The family, from this circumstance, became exceedingly affluent; and Alcmaeon was thus enabled to procure and maintain those horses which obtained him the victory at the olympic games.

CXXVI. In the age which next succeeded, Clis-thenes, tyrant of Sicyon, raised this family even beyond its former importance. This Clisthenes, who was the son of Aristonymus, grandson of Mynon, and great-grandson of Andros, had a daughter named Agarista. His determination was to marry her to the most distinguished man in Greece. During the celebration of the olympic games, at which Clis-thenes was victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, he ordered this proclamation to be made by a herald:—that whoever thought himself worthy of becoming the son-in-law of Clis-thenes was desired to appear at Sicyon within sixty days: for in the course of a year, reckoning from that period, Clisthenes intended to give his daughter in marriage. All those, therefore, who were either proud of their own merit or of their country, appeared as candidates: and Clisthenes prepared for the occasion a palæstra,* and other proper places of exercises.

* Not unlike to this conduct of Clisthenes were the solemnities described in books of ancient romance and chivalry, as preceding the nuptials of a king's daughter. The knight who was victorious at tilts and tournaments generally captivated the affections of the lady, and obtained the consent of the father. Bishop Hurd, in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, traces the origin of jousts and tournaments no farther than the feudal constitution of the middle ages: perhaps, without great impropriety, he might have found the seeds of their existence in the public games of Greece. To these we may certainly look for the contests, whether of gladiators or beasts, exhibited in the amphitheatres of ancient Rome, from which basis, through various modifications, the spirit of Gothic chivalry might possibly be derived.—T.

CXXVII. From Italy came Smindyrides,* son of Hippocrates, a native of Sybaris, and a man eminent for his refined luxury; Sybaris was at that time an affluent and powerful city. On the same occasion Damas of Siris appeared: he was the son of Samyris, surnamed the Wise. Amphimnestus the Epidamnian, son of Epistrophus, came from the Ionian gulf. Among others, also, was Males the Ætolian, brother of that Titormus† who surpassed the rest of his countrymen in bodily prowess, but who had retired from society to the remote parts of Ætolia. Leocedes, son of Phidon, prince of the Argives, came from the Peloponnesus: this man first instituted the instruments of measuring‡ in the Peloponnesus, and was the most insolent of all his contemporaries. He removed the agonotheæt§ from Elis, which office he himself afterward executed at Olympia. Amiantus the Arcadian, son of Lycurgus, came from Trapezus; there was also Laphenes the Azenian, of the city of Pæos, and son of that Euphorion

* The effeminate softness of this man is twice mentioned by Ælian in his *Various History*.—See b. ix. c. 24. He complained, after sleeping on roses, that he had got tumours in his body from the hardness of his bed. Seneca, in his *Treatise de Ira*, had evidently in his eye the above passage of Ælian; but he says that Smindyrides complained of the roses being doubled under him.

Another passage in Ælian states, that when he paid his addresses to the daughter of Cliethenes, he carried with him a thousand cooks, a thousand fowlers, and a thousand fishermen.—*T.*

† This man, as we learn from Athenæus, one day disputed with Milo of Crotona which could soonest devour a whole ox. Of this last, incredible as it may seem, it is related that he carried a young bull of four years old on his shoulders to some distance; after which he killed it, divided it into portions, and ate the whole of it by himself, in the space of a day.—*Larcher.*

‡ The first introduction of weights and measures into Greece is imputed by some to Pythagoras.—See Diog. Laert. in Pythag. D'Anville is of opinion that the measures here mentioned were not those of distance.—*Larcher.*

§ These were the judges and arbiters of the public games.

no, as is reported in Arcadia, entertained at his house Castor and Pollux, and was afterward remarkable for his universal hospitality. Onomastus of Elis, the son of Agæus, was also of the number. Among the Athenians were Megacles, son of that Cnemæon who went to Cræsus: and Hippoclides, son of Tisander, who was eminent among his countrymen both for his affluence and his personal accomplishments. The only Eubœan was Lysanias, who came from Eretria, which was at that time in considerable repute. Of the Scopadæ of Thessaly, as present Diactorides the Cranonian, and Alcon among the Molossians.—These were the suitors.

CXXVIII. On their appearance at the day appointed, Clisthenes first inquired of each his country and his family. He then detained them all for the space of a year, examining their comparative strength, sensibility, learning, and manners: for this purpose he sometimes conversed with them individually, sometimes collectively. The youngest were often engaged in public exercises: but his great trial of them all was at public entertainments. As long as they were with him they were treated with the utmost magnificence and liberality: but to the Athenians he showed a particular preference. Of these Hippoclides, the son of Tisander, was the first in his regard; both on account of his own personal prowess, as well as because his ancestors were related to the Cypselidæ of Corinth.

CXXIX. When the day arrived which was to decide the choice of Clisthenes, and the solemnization of the nuptials, a hundred oxen* were sacrificed, and

* The origin of hecatombs, according to Strabo, was this: there were a hundred cities in Laconia, each of which every year sacrificed an ox. The etymology of hecatomb is from *hecatē*, a hundred, *βovς*, an ox. By a hecatomb in general, we understand the sacrifice of a hundred beasts of the same kind on a hundred altars, by a hundred different priests.—*T.*

the suiters, with all the Sicyonians, invited to the feast. After supper the suiters engaged in a dispute about music, and in other general subjects. While they were drinking,* Hippoclidès, who made himself remarkably conspicuous, directed one of the musicians to play a tune called "Emmelia:"† his request being obeyed, he began to dance with much satisfaction to himself, though, as it should seem, to the great disgust of Clisthenes, who attentively observed him. After a short pause, Hippoclidès commanded a table to be brought; on this he first of all danced according to the Lacedæmonian, and then in the Athenian manner: at length he stood on his head, using his legs as if they had been his hands. The two former actions of Hippoclidès Clisthenes observed with great command of temper: he determined not to choose him as his son-in-law, being much offended with his want of delicacy and decorum; but when he saw him dancing with his feet

* In Greece, says Larcher, they did not drink till after they had done eating. This is exemplified from a passage of Xenophon, where, when somebody at the table of Seuthès desires Aristus to drink, he replies, "that he has not yet done eating, but that he might ask Xenophon to drink, who had dined."

† It has been generally understood of the dance called Emmelia that it was of a peculiar gravity and stateliness, suited to the dignity of tragedy: but I think with Larcher, from the passage before us, that there must have been different kinds of dances under this name; for it seems not at all likely that Clisthenes should quarrel with his son-in-law elect for exercising himself in a solemn and dignified dance. Of this dance also we are told that Plato approved, along with the pyrrhic or military dances, which he certainly would not have done if it had been of the immodest kind which is here reprobated. It may also, without impropriety, be observed, that the Athenians deemed those impolite who refused to exercise themselves in dancing when the proper opportunity occurred; and what time could be more suitable than a nuptial feast? The act of dancing would naturally seem to indicate joy; but it constituted a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancients. I have somewhere read of a tribe of Indians, among whom dancing was practised as a testimony of sorrow.—*T*

in the air, he could contain himself no longer, but exclaimed, "Son of Tisander, you have danced away your wife."—"Hippoclides cares not," was the abrupt reply. This afterward became a proverb.

CXXX. After this, Clisthenes, demanding silence, thus addressed the assembly: "Ye, who have come hither as suiters to my daughter, are all entitled to my praise, and if it were in my power I would gratify you all, not distinguishing one in preference to the rest: but this is impossible; for as there is only one virgin, the wishes of you all cannot be satisfied. to each of you, therefore, who must depart hence disappointed of your object, in acknowledgment of your condescension in desiring to marry a daughter of mine, I present a talent of silver; but I give my daughter Agarista to Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, to be his wife according to the Athenian laws." Megacles accepted the honour, and the marriage was solemnized.

CXXXI. Such was the decision made with respect to these suiters, and in this manner the Alcmaeonidæ became illustrious in Greece. The first offspring of this marriage was called Clisthenes, after his maternal grandfather, the prince of Sicyon. He it was who divided the Athenians into tribes, and introduced a democracy. The name of the second son was Hippocrates, to whom afterward was born a son named Megacles, and a daughter called Agarista, after the daughter of Clisthenes: she was married to Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron. She dreamed that she brought forth a lion, and was very soon afterward delivered of Pericles.

CXXXII. Miltiades was always very popular at Athens; but, after the signal defeat of the Persians at Marathon, his reputation still more increased. He demanded of his countrymen a fleet of seventy ships, with a supply of money and of men: he did not specify to what place he intended to conduct them;

he only promised that he would lead them to affluence, and to a country from whence they should bring abundance of gold. The Athenians believed and obeyed him.

CXXXIII. Receiving the re-enforcement he had solicited, Miltiades sailed to Paros. His pretended object was to punish the Parians for taking an active part in favour of the Persians at the battle of Marathon. This, however, was assumed; his resentment against the Parians arose from Lysagoras, the son of Tysias, a native of Paros, who had prejudiced Hydarnes the Persian against him. On his arrival before the place Miltiades commenced a vigorous siege, sending at the same time a herald to the Parians, to demand a hundred talents; and declaring, that if they did not grant it, he would not leave the place till he had destroyed it. The Parians never thought for a moment of complying with his demand; but attended vigilantly to the defence of their city, strengthening those parts which were weak, and rendering, under advantage of the night, their wall twice as strong as it was before.

CXXXIV. Thus far all the Greeks correspond in their account: what ensued is thus related by the Parians: Miltiades, reduced to great perplexity, consulted with a female captive, a Parian by birth, whose name was Timo, a priestess of the infernal deities. On her appearing before him, she said, that if he wished to accomplish his designs on Paros he must follow her advice. In consequence of what she recommended, Miltiades advanced to an eminence before the city, and, not able to open the gates of a place consecrated to Ceres Thesmophoros, he leaped over the fence: from hence he proceeded to the temple, either to remove something which it was deemed impious to touch, or with some other intention: on approaching the entrance he was seized with a sudden horror of mind; and, returning by the same way, he in leaping a second

cated in the Athenian language and manners : these accordingly refused to associate with the other children of the Pelasgi ; and if one of them was at any time beaten by them, they mutually ran to one another's assistance. They thought themselves worthy of being their masters, and ultimately became so. The Pelasgians, observing this, were much exasperated ; for, said they, if these children thus unite against the offspring of our legitimate wives, and are continually aiming at superiority over them, what will they do when they arrive at manhood ? They resolved, therefore, to put these children to death, after which they determined also to kill their mothers. This action, added to a former one, in which the women of Lemnos destroyed all their husbands, with Thoas their king,* induced the Grecians to call every atrocious crime Lemnian.

CXXXIX. The Pelasgi, after the above murder of their children and slaves, found their earth, their cattle, and their wives alike cursed with sterility : to obtain relief from which they sent a deputation to Delphi. The Pythian commanded them to render such satisfaction to the Athenians as they should require : they accordingly went to Athens, engaging themselves to submit to whatever should be proposed. The Athenians set in order some couches in the prytaneum, which they adorned with the greatest magnificence ; they prepared also a table covered with every delicacy ; they then required the Pelasgi to surrender them Lemnos in a similar state of

* Later writers have made Hypsipyle preserve the life of her father Thoas. The whole of this is beautifully described by Valerius Flaccus, in his second book. The motive which was supposed to induce the Lemnian women to this sanguinary action, was this :—the Lemnian women celebrated every year a festival in honour of Venus ; but, having neglected this custom, the goddess punished their neglect by giving them a disagreeable odour, which made their husbands avoid them. The women, thus deeming themselves despised, slew all the men.—*Z*.

abundance :—" Whenever," said they, in reply, " one of your vessels shall in a single day make its passage to our country with a northern wind, we will comply with what you require." This they conceived to be impracticable, as Attica lies considerably to the south of Lemnos.

CXL. After an interval of some years, when the Chersonesus on the Hellespont came under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Cimon, under favour of the Etesian winds, passed in a single day from Elæos in the Chersonesus to Lemnos : he instantly commanded them to depart from Lemnos, reminding them of the declaration of the oracle, the completion of which they little expected. With this the Hephæstians complied ; but the Myrinæi, not allowing the Chersonesus to be Attica, sustained a siege, but were compelled to surrender. Thus, by means of Miltiades, the Athenians became masters of Lemnos.

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

CHAP. I. When the news of the battle of Marathon was communicated to Darius, he, who was before incensed against the Athenians, on account of their invasion of Sardis, became still more exasperated, and more inclined to invade Greece. He instantly, therefore, sent emissaries to the different cities under his power, to provide a still greater number of transports, horses, corn, and provisions. In the interval which this business employed, Asia experienced three years of confusion; her most able men being enrolled in the Greek expedition, and making preparation for it. In the fourth the Egyptians, who had been reduced by Cambyses, revolted from the Persians; but this only induced Darius to accelerate his preparations against both nations.

II. At this juncture there arose a violent dispute among the sons of Darius concerning the succession to the throne, the Persian customs forbidding the sovereign to undertake any expedition without naming his heir. Darius had three sons before he ascended the throne by the daughter of Gobryas; he had four afterward by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus: Artobazanes was the eldest of the former, Xerxes of the latter. Not being of the same mother, a dispute arose* between them; Artobazanes asserted

* The account given of this affair by Plutarch, in his *Treatise of Brotherly Love*, differs materially.

"When Darius died, some contended that Artamenes should succeed him, as being eldest: others recommended Xerxes, because Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, was his mother, and he was born while Darius was actually king. Artamenes accordingly

his pretensions from being the eldest of all his father's sons, a claim which mankind in general consent to acknowledge.* Xerxes claimed the throne

went to Media, not with any hostile views, but peaceably to have the matter determined. Xerxes, who was on the spot, exercised the royal functions : but as soon as his brother arrived he laid aside his crown and kingly ornaments, and hastened to salute him. He sent him various presents, and words to this effect : 'Xerxes, your brother sends you these presents, to show how much he honours you. If the Persians shall elect me king, you shall be next to myself.' The reply of Artamenes was, 'I accept your presents : the crown I believe to be my right : I shall honour all my brethren, and Xerxes in particular.' When the day of decision arrived, the Persians elected as judge Artabanus, brother of Darius. Xerxes, who depended on the multitude, objected to him, for which he was censured by his mother Atossa :—'Why,' she observed, 'should you refuse to have your uncle as judge, one of the worthiest men in Persia ? and why dread a contest where, if inferior, you will still be next to the king ?' Xerxes suffered himself to be persuaded, and after hearing the arguments of both, Artabanus adjudged the crown to Xerxes. Artamenes on this hastily arose, made obeisance to his brother, and, taking him by the hand, conducted him to the throne."

* The *principle* of hereditary succession is universal, but the *order* has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example, which was originally decided by fraud or violence.—See *Gibbon*, iv. 387.

The jurisprudence of the Romans (he continues) appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown ; the two sexes were placed on a just level ; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal share of the patrimonial estate.

Among the patriarchs, the firstborn enjoyed a mystical and spiritual primogeniture. In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance.

At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers.

In England the eldest son alone inherits all the land : a law, says Judge Blackstone, unjust only in the opinion of younger brothers.

because he was the grandson of Cyrus, to whom the Persians were indebted for their liberties.

III. Before Darius had made any decision, and in the very midst of the contention, there arrived at Susa Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who, being deprived of the crown of Sparta, had fled from Lacedæmon. This man, hearing of the controversy, went, as is reported, to Xerxes, and recommended him to urge farther, in support of his claim, that when he was born Darius was in actual enjoyment of the empire of Persia; but at the birth of Artobazanes his father was only a private individual. The pretensions of Xerxes, therefore, could not be set aside without the most obvious violation of equity. To strengthen this, the example of the Spartans was adduced, among whom those children born after the accession of the prince to the throne were universally preferred to those born before. Xerxes availed himself of this counsel given by Demaratus, which so effectually impressed Darius, that he declared him his successor. For my own part, I think that Xerxes would have reigned without this advice from Demaratus, as Atossa enjoyed an almost unlimited authority.

IV. Darius, having declared Xerxes his heir, prepared to march: but in the year which succeeded the Egyptian revolt he died, having reigned thirty-six years, without being able to gratify his resentment against the Egyptians and Athenians who had opposed his power.

V. On his death, Xerxes immediately succeeded

On the above I would remark, that Blackstone speaks judiciously, while I can consider the sentiments of Mr. Gibbon as little better than declamation. It seems evident that property, continually subdivided, must be rendered useless to all; or, if this were not the case, to create a numerous class too proud to be industrious, would be to introduce a swarm of useless and inactive drones into the political hive. The wealth of the elder brothers maintains the splendour and dignity of a state; the activity of the younger branches gives it life and strength.—T.

to the throne, who from the first seemed wholly inclined to the Egyptian rather than the Athenian war. But Mardonius, who was his cousin, being the son of Gobryas, by a sister of Darius, thus addressed him: "I should think, sir, that the Athenians, who have so grievously injured the Persians, ought not to escape with impunity. I would, nevertheless, have you execute what you immediately propose; but when you shall have chastised the insolence of Egypt, resume the expedition against Athens. Thus will your reputation be established, and others in future be deterred from molesting your dominions." What he said was farther enforced by representing the beauties of Europe, that it was exceedingly fertile, abounded with all kinds of trees,* and deserved to be possessed by the king alone.

VI. Mardonius said this, being desirous of new undertakings, and ambitious of the government of Greece. Xerxes at length acceded to his counsel, to which he was also urged by other considerations. Some messengers came from Thessaly on the part of the Aleuadæ, imploring the king to invade Greece; to accomplish which they used the most earnest endeavours. These Aleuadæ were the princes of Thessaly; their solicitations were strengthened by the Pisistratidæ, who had taken refuge at Susa, and who, to the arguments before adduced, added others. They had among them Onomacritus, an Athenian, a famous priest, who sold the oracles of Musæus: with him they had been reconciled previous to their arrival at Susa. This man had been formerly banished from Athens by the son of Pisistratus; for Lasus†

* It seems a little singular that Mardonius should say this: for I believe it has always been acknowledged that the luxuriant climates of Asia produce every thing which relates to fruit and vegetation in far greater abundance and perfection than the less genial soil of Europe.—*T.*

† Lasus was a musician, poet, and, according to some, one of

of Hermione had detected him in the fact of introducing a pretended oracle among the verses of Musæus, intimating that the islands contiguous to Lemnos should be overwhelmed in the ocean. Hipparchus for this expelled him, though he had been very intimate with him before. He accompanied the Pisistratidæ to Susa, who always spoke of him in terms highly honourable; on which account, whenever he appeared in the royal presence, he recited certain oracular verses. He omitted whatever predicted any thing unfortunate to the barbarians, selecting only what promised them auspiciously; among other things, he said the fates decreed that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont.

VII. Thus was the mind of Xerxes assailed by the predictions of the priest and the opinions of the Pisistratidæ. In the year which followed the death of Darius he determined on an expedition against Greece, but commenced hostilities with those who had revolted from the Persians. These being subdued, and the whole of Egypt* more effectually reduced than it had been by Darius, the government of it he confided to Achæmenes, his own brother, son of Darius. Achæmenes was afterward slain by Inaros, a Libyan, the son of Psammitichus.

VIII. After the subjection of Egypt, Xerxes pre-

the seven sages of Greece. He was the inventor of the dithyrambic verses and of the circular dances. He was fond of gaming; and, according to Plutarch, when Xenophanes refused once to play with him, he reproached him with cowardice: "Yes," answered Xenophanes, "in every thing which is base and dishonest, I confess myself a coward."—*T.*

* Xerxes, having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Egypt which his father had begun. He confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God at that place.—*Prideaux.*

pared to lead an army against Athens; but first of all he called an assembly of the principal Persians, to hear their sentiments, and to deliver, without reserve, his own. He addressed them to the following purport: "You will remember, O Persians! that I am not about to execute any new project of my own; I only pursue the path which has been previously marked out for me. I have learned from my ancestors, that ever since we recovered this empire from the Medes, after the depression of Astyages by Cyrus, we have never been in a state of inactivity. A deity is our guide, and auspiciously conducts us to prosperity. It must be unnecessary for me to relate the exploits of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, and the nations they added to our empire. For my own part, ever since my accession to the throne, it has been my careful endeavour not to reflect any disgrace on my forefathers, by suffering the Persian power to diminish. My deliberations on this matter have presented me with a prospect full of glory; they have pointed out to me a region not inferior to our own in extent, and far exceeding it in fertility; which incitements are farther promoted by the expectation of honourable revenge. I have therefore assembled you to explain what I intend. I have resolved, by throwing a bridge over the Hellespont,* to lead my forces through Europe into Greece, and to inflict vengeance on the Athenians for the injuries offered to my father and Persia. You well know that this war was intended by Darius, though death deprived him of the means of vengeance. Consid-

* Bochart thinks it very probable, what other learned men have also conjectured, that the Hellespont was originally called Elispont, from Elisha, the eldest of Javan's sons; and it may be added, that one of the one hundred and twenty provinces, as they stood in the rolls of the Persian empire, was named Provincia *Alysionensis*, for so Herodotus informs us; and it is placed between the provinces of Ionia and Phrygia, comprehending *Æolia*. From the authority above cited, on the change of language, Elisha the son of Javan was called *Æolus*.—T.

ering what is due to him and to Persia, it is my determination not to remit my exertions till Athens shall be taken and burnt. The Athenians, unprovoked, first insulted me and my father: under the conduct of Aristagoras of Miletus, our dependant and slave, they attacked Sardis, and consumed with fire our groves and temples. What they perpetrated against you, when, led by Datis and Artaphernes, you penetrated their country, you know by fatal experience. Such are my inducements to proceed against them: but I have also additional motives. If we reduce these and their neighbours, who inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, to our power, the Persian empire will be limited by the heavens alone; the sun will illuminate no country contiguous to ours. I shall overrun all Europe, and, with your assistance, possess unlimited dominion. For, if I am properly informed, there exists no race of men, nor can any city or nation be found, which, if these be reduced, can possibly resist our arms: we shall thus subject, as well those who have, as those who have not injured us. I call, therefore, for your assistance, which I shall thankfully accept and acknowledge: I trust that, with cheerfulness and activity, you will all assemble at the place I shall appoint. To him who shall appear with the greatest number of well-provided troops, I will present those gifts which in our country are thought to confer the highest honour. That I may not appear to dictate my own wishes in an arbitrary manner, I commit the matter to your reflection, permitting every one to deliver his sentiments with freedom."

IX. When Xerxes had finished, Mardonius made the following reply: "Sir, you are not only the most illustrious of all the Persians who have hitherto appeared, but you may securely defy the competition of posterity. Among other things which you have advanced, alike excellent and just, you are entitled to our particular admiration for not suffering the

people of Ionia, contemptible as they are, to insult us with impunity. It would indeed be preposterous, if, after reducing to our power the Sacæ, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and the Assyrians, with many other great and illustrious nations, not in revenge of injuries received, but solely from the honourable desire of dominion, we should not inflict vengeance on these Greeks, who, without provocation, have molested us. There can be nothing to excite our alarm; no multitude of troops, no extraordinary wealth; we have tried their mode of fighting, and know their weakness. Their descendants, who, under the names of Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, reside within our dominions, we first subdued and now govern. Their prowess I myself have known, when at the command of your father I prosecuted a war against them. I penetrated Macedonia, advanced almost to Athens, and found no enemy to encounter. Besides this, I am informed that in all their military undertakings, the Greeks betray the extremest ignorance and folly. As soon as they commence hostilities among themselves, their first care is to find a large and beautiful plain,* where they appear and give battle: the consequence is, that even the victors suffer severe loss; of the vanquished I say nothing, for they are totally destroyed. As they use one common language, they ought in policy to terminate all disputes by the mediation of ambassadors, and above all things to avoid a war among themselves: or, if this should prove unavoidable, they should mutually endeavour to find a place of great natural strength, and then try the issue of a battle. By pursuing as ab-

* The Romans, in attacking an enemy, so disposed their army as to be able to rally three different times. This has been thought by many as the great secret of the Roman discipline, because fortune must have foiled their efforts three different times before they could be possibly defeated. The Greeks drew up their forces in one extended line, and therefore depended on the effect of the first charge.—*T*.

surd a conduct as I have described, the Greeks suffered me to advance as far as Macedonia without resistance. But who, sir, shall oppose you, at the head of the forces and fleet of Asia? The Greeks, I think, never can be so audacious. If, however, I should be deceived, and they shall be so mad as to engage us, they will soon find, to their cost, that in the art of war we are the first of mankind. Let us, however, adopt various modes of proceeding; for perfection and success can only be the result of frequent experiment." In this manner Mardonius seconded the speech of Xerxes.

X. A total silence prevailed in the assembly, no one daring to oppose* what had been said: till at length Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and uncle to Xerxes, deriving confidence from his relationship, thus delivered his sentiments:—"Unless, O king! different sentiments be submitted to the judgment, no alternative of choice remains; the one introduced is of necessity adopted. The purity of gold cannot be ascertained by a single specimen; it is known and approved by comparing it with others. It was my advice to Darius, your father and my brother, that he should by no means undertake an expedition against the Scythians, a people without towns and cities. Allured by his hopes of subduing them, he disregarded my admonitions; and, proceeding to execute his purpose, was obliged to return, having lost numbers of his best troops. The men, O king! whom you are preparing to attack, are far superior to the Scythians, and alike formi-

* The following is from *Ælian's Various History* :—

"This was one of the Persian laws—If any one thought proper to give advice to the king about any thing which was forbidden, or ambiguous, he did so standing on a golden tile: if his advice appeared to be salutary, the gold tile was given him as a reward: he was nevertheless beaten for presuming to contradict the king. 'But in my opinion,' says *Ælian*, 'a man of an ingenuous mind would never have submitted to the disgrace for the sake of the reward.'"—*T.*

dable by land and sea. I deem it, therefore, my duty to forewarn you of the dangers you will have to encounter. You say that, throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, you will lead your forces through Europe into Greece; but it may possibly happen, that either on land or by sea, or perhaps by both, you may sustain a defeat, for our enemies are reported to be valiant. Of this, indeed, we have had sufficient testimony: for if the Athenians by themselves routed the numerous armies of Datis and Artaphernes, it proves that we are not either by land or sea perfectly invincible. If, preparing their fleet, they shall be victorious by sea, and afterward, sailing to the Hellespont, shall destroy your bridge, we may dread all that is bad. I do not argue in this respect from my own private conjecture; we can all of us remember how very narrowly we escaped destruction when your father, throwing bridges over the Thracian Bosphorus and the Ister, passed into Scythia. The guard of this pass was intrusted to the Ionians, whom the Scythians urged to break it down by the most earnest importunity. If, at this period, Histæus of Miletus had not opposed the sentiments of the rest, there would have been an end of the Persian name. It is painful to repeat, and afflicting to remember, that the safety of our prince and his dominions depended on a single man. Listen, therefore, to my advice, and where no necessity demands it, do not involve yourself in danger. For the present, dismiss this meeting; revolve the matter more seriously in your mind, and, at a future and seasonable time, make known your determination. For my own part, I have found from experience, that deliberation produces the happiest effects. In such a case, if the event does not answer our wishes, we still merit the praise of discretion, and fortune is alone to be blamed. He who is rash and inconsiderate, although fortune may be kind, and anticipate his desires, is not the less to be

censured for temerity. You may have observed how the thunderbolt of Heaven chastises the insolence of the more enormous animals, while it passes over without injury the weak and insignificant : before these weapons of the gods you must have seen how the proudest palaces and the loftiest trees fall and perish. The most conspicuous things are those which are chiefly singled out as objects of the divine displeasure. From the same principle it is that a mighty army is sometimes overthrown by one that is contemptible ; for the deity in his anger sends his terrors among them, and makes them perish in a manner unworthy of their former glory. Perfect wisdom* is the prerogative of Heaven alone, and every measure undertaken with temerity is liable to be perplexed with error, and punished by misfortune. Discreet caution, on the contrary, has many and peculiar advantages, which, if not apparent at the moment, reveal themselves in time. Such, O king, is my advice ; and little does it become you, O son of Gobryas, to speak of the Greeks in a language foolish as well as false. By calumniating Greece you excite your sovereign to war, the great object of all your zeal : but I entreat you to forbear : calumny is a restless vice ; where it is indulged, there are always two who offer injury. The calumniator himself is injurious, because he traduces an absent person ; he is also injurious who suffers himself to be persuaded without investigating the truth. The person traduced is doubly injured ; first, by him who propagates, and secondly, by him who receives

* The English reader may perhaps thank me for taking this opportunity of relating an anecdote of the celebrated Buffon, not generally known. That perfect wisdom is the attribute of Heaven only, no human being, we should suppose, would be inclined to controvert : yet Buffon, during his lifetime, suffered a statue to be erected to him with this remarkable inscription, MAJESTATI NATURÆ PAR INGENIUM, which can surely be applicable to the Deity alone.—T.

the calumny. If this war be a measure of necessity, let it be prosecuted ; but let the king remain at home with his subjects. Suffer the children of us two to remain in his power, as the test of our different opinions ; and do you, Mardonius, conduct the war with whatever forces you shall think expedient. If, agreeably to your representations, the designs of the king shall be successful, let me and my children perish ; but if what I predict shall be accomplished, let your children die, and yourself too, in case you shall return. If you refuse these conditions, and are still resolved to lead an army into Greece, I do not hesitate to declare, that all those who shall be left behind will hear that Mardonius, after having involved the Persians in some conspicuous calamity, became a prey to dogs and ravenous birds, in the territories either of Athens or Lacedæmon, or probably during his march thither. Thus you will know, by fatal experience, what those men are against whom you endeavour to persuade the king to prosecute a war."

XI. When Artabanus had finished, Xerxes thus angrily replied : " Artabanus, you are my father's brother, which alone prevents your receiving the chastisement due to your foolish speech. This mark of ignominy shall, however, adhere to you :—as you are so dastardly and mean, you shall not accompany me to Greece, but remain at home, the companion of our women. Without your assistance I shall proceed in the accomplishment of my designs ; for I should ill deserve to be esteemed the son of Darius, who was the son of Hystaspes, and reckoned among his ancestors, Arsamis, Arinnis, Teispeus, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Achæmenes, if I did not gratify my revenge on the Athenians. I am well assured, that if we, on our parts, remained tranquil, they would not, but would invade and ravage our country. This we may reasonably conclude from their burning of Sardis, and their incursions into

Asia. Neither party can therefore recede; we must advance to the attack of the Greeks, or we must prepare to sustain theirs; we must either submit to them or they to us; in enmities like these there can be no medium. Injured as we have been, it becomes us to seek for revenge: for I am determined to know what evil is to be dreaded from those whom Pelops the Phrygian, the slave of my ancestors, so effectually subdued, that even to this day they, as well as their country, are distinguished by his name."

XII. On the approach of evening, the sentiments of Artabanus gave great disquietude to Xerxes, and after more serious deliberation with himself in the night, he found himself still less inclined to the Grecian war. Having decided on the subject, he fell asleep, when, as the Persians relate, the following vision appeared to him:—he dreamed that he saw before him a man of unusual size and beauty, who thus addressed him: "Are you then determined, O Persian! contrary to your former resolutions, not to lead an army against Greece, although you have ordered your subjects to prepare their forces? This change in your sentiments is absurd in itself, and will certainly be censured by the world. Resume, therefore, and persist in what you had resolved by day." Having said this, the vision disappeared.

XIII. The impression made by the vision vanished with the morning. Xerxes a second time convoked the former meeting, and again addressed them: "Men of Persia," said he, "you will forgive me if my former sentiments are changed. I am not yet arrived at the full maturity of my judgment; and they who wish me to prosecute the measures which I before seemed to approve, do not remit their importunities. When I first heard the opinion of Artabanus, I yielded to the emotions of youth, and expressed myself more petulantly than was be-

coming to a man of his years. To prove that I see my indiscretion, I am resolved to follow his advice. It is not my intention to undertake an expedition against Greece : remain, therefore, in tranquillity." The Persians, hearing these sentiments, prostrated themselves with joy before the king.

XIV. On the following night the same phantom appeared a second time to Xerxes in his sleep, and spake to him as follows : " Son of Darius, disregarding my admonitions as of no weight or significance, you have publicly renounced all thoughts of war. Hear what I say : unless you immediately undertake that which I recommend, the same short period of time which has seen you great and powerful shall behold you reduced and abject."

XV. Terrified at the vision, the king leaped from his couch and sent for Artabanus. As soon as he approached, " Artabanus," exclaimed Xerxes, " in return for your salutary counsel, I reproached and insulted you ; but as soon as I became master of myself I endeavoured to prove my repentance, by adopting what you proposed. This, however, whatever may be my wishes, I am unable to do. As soon as my former determinations were changed, I beheld in my sleep a vision, which first endeavoured to dissuade me, and has this moment left me with threats. If what I have seen proceed from the interference of some deity, who is solicitous that I should make war on Greece, it will doubtless appear to you, and give you a similar mandate. This will, I think, be the case, if you will assume my habit, and, after sitting on my throne, retire to rest in my apartment."

XVI. Artabanus was at first unwilling to comply, alleging that he was not worthy to sit on the throne of the king.* But, being urged, he finally acquiesced, after thus expressing his sentiments : " I am

* To sit on the king's throne was in Persia deemed a capital offence.

of opinion, O king! that to think well, and to follow what is well-advised, is alike commendable:* both these qualities are yours; but the artifice of evil counsellors misleads you. Thus the ocean is of itself most useful to mankind, but the stormy winds render it injurious, by disturbing its natural surface. Your reproaches gave me less uneasiness than to see that when two opinions were submitted to public deliberation, the one aiming to restrain, the other to countenance the pride of Persia, you preferred that which was full of danger to yourself and your country, rejecting the wiser counsel, which pointed out the evil tendency of ambition. Now that you have changed your resolution with respect to Greece, a phantom has appeared, and, as you say, by divine interposition, forbidding your present purpose of dismissing your forces. But, my son, I dispute the divinity of this interposition; for of the fallacy of dreams, I, who am more experienced than yourself, can produce sufficient testimonies. Dreams in general originate from those incidents which have most occupied the thoughts during the day.† Two days since, you will remember, that this expedition was the object of much warm discussion: but if this vision be really sent from heaven, your reason-

* Larcher at this passage quotes the two following sentences from Livy:—

“I have often heard, my fellow-soldiers, that he was first to be esteemed who gave advice suitable to the occasion; and that he deserved the second place who followed it.”

The passage has been imitated also by Sophocles, in his *Antigone*. The turn Cicero gives it is curious enough: “In folly,” he says, “it is just the contrary: the greatest fool is he who thinks of an absurdity; the next he who adopts it.” This was perfectly true.—*T*.

† After all that has been said and written on the subject of dreams, I shall, I hope, be excused, when I confess that the following words of Mr. Locke are to me quite satisfactory on the subject.

“The dreams of sleeping men are all made up of the waking man’s ideas, though for the most part oddly put together.”—*T*.

ing on it is just, and it will certainly appear to me as it has done to you, expressing itself to a similar effect; but it will not show itself to me dressed in your robes, and reclining on your couch, sooner than if I were in my own habit and my own apartment. No change of dress will induce the phantom, if it does appear, to mistake me for you. If it shall hold me in contempt, it will not appear to me, however I may be clothed. It unquestionably, however, merits attention; its repeated appearance I myself must acknowledge to be a proof of its divinity. If you are determined in your purpose, I am ready to go to rest in your apartment: but, till I see the phantom myself, I shall retain my former opinions."

XVII. Artabanus, expecting to find the king's dream of no importance, did as he was ordered. He accordingly put on the robe of Xerxes, seated himself on the royal throne, and afterward retired to the king's apartment. The same phantom which had disturbed Xerxes appeared to him,* and thus addressed him: "Art thou the man who, pretending to watch over the conduct of Xerxes, art endeavouring to restrain his designs against Greece? Your perverseness shall be punished, both now and in future; and as for Xerxes himself, he has been forewarned of the evils he will suffer if he is disobedient to my will."

XVIII. Such were the threats which Artabanus heard from the spectre, which at the same time made an effort to burn out his eyes with a hot iron. Alarmed at his danger, Artabanus leaped from his couch, and uttering a loud cry, went instantly to Xerxes. After relating his vision, he thus spake to him: "Being a man, O king, of much experience, and having seen the undertakings of the powerful foiled by the efforts of the weak, I was unwilling that you should indulge the fervour of your age. Of

* Larcher reasonably supposes that this was a plot of Mar-donius to impose on Xerxes; and that some person, dressed and disguised for the purpose, acted the part of the ghost.

the ill effects of inordinate ambition I had seen a fatal proof in the expedition which Cyrus undertook against the Massagetæ; I knew also what became of the army of Cambyses in their attack of Ethiopia; and lastly, I myself witnessed the misfortunes of Darius in his hostilities with the Scythians. The remembrance of these incidents induced me to believe, that if you continued a peaceful reign, you would, beyond all men, deserve the name of happy: but, as your present inclination seems directed by some supernatural influence, and as the Greeks seem marked out by Heaven for destruction, I acknowledge that my sentiments are changed; do you, therefore, make known to the Persians the extraordinary intimations you have received, and direct your dependants to hasten the preparations you had before commanded. Be careful, in what relates to yourself, to second the intentions of the gods." The vision, indeed, had so powerfully impressed the minds of both, that, as soon as the morning appeared, Xerxes communicated his intentions to the Persians; which Artabanus, in opposition to his former sentiments, now openly and warmly approved.

XIX. While every thing was making ready for his departure, Xerxes saw a third vision. The magi to whom it was related were of opinion that it portended to Xerxes unlimited and universal empire. The king conceived himself to be crowned with the wreath of an olive-tree, whose branches covered all the earth; but that this wreath suddenly and totally disappeared. After the above interpretations of the magi had been made known in the national assembly of the Persians, the governors departed to their several provinces, eager to execute the commands they had received, in expectation of the promised reward.

XX. Xerxes was so anxious to complete his levies, that no part of the continent was left without being ransacked for this purpose. After the reduc-

tion of Egypt, four entire years were employed in assembling the army, and collecting provisions; but in the beginning of the fifth* he began his march, with an immense body of forces. Of all the military expeditions the fame of which has come down to us, this was far the greatest, much exceeding that which Darius undertook against Scythia, as well as the incursion made by the Scythians, who, pursuing the Cimmerians, entered Media, and made themselves entire masters of almost all the higher parts of Asia; an incursion which afforded Darius the pretence for his attack on Scythia. It surpasses, also, the famous expedition of the sons of Atreus against Troy, as well as that of the Mysians and Teucrians before the Trojan war. These nations, passing over the Bosphorus into Europe, reduced all the inhabitants of Thrace, advancing to the Ionian Sea, and thence as far as the southern part of the river Peneus.

XXI. None of the expeditions already mentioned, nor indeed any other, may at all be compared with this of Xerxes. It would be difficult to specify any nation of Asia which did not accompany the Persian monarch against Greece, or any waters, except great rivers, which were not exhausted by his armies. Some supplied ships, some a body of infantry, others of horse; some provided transports for the cavalry and the troops; others brought long ships to serve as bridges; many also brought vessels laden with corn; all which preparations were made for three years, to guard against a repetition of the ca-

* Darius was three years in preparing for an expedition against Greece; in the fourth Egypt revolted, and in the following year Darius died: this, therefore, was the fifth year after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes employed four years in making preparations for the same purpose; in the fifth he began his march; he advanced to Sardis, and there wintered: in the beginning of the following spring he entered Greece. This, therefore, was the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon, which account agrees with that given by Thucydides.—*T.*

lamities which the Persian fleet had formerly sustained in their attempts to double the promontory of Mount Athos. The place of rendezvous for the triremes was at Elæos of the Chersonesus, from whence detachments from the army were sent, and by force of blows compelled to dig a passage through Mount Athos,* with orders to relieve each other at certain regular intervals. The undertaking was assisted by those who inhabited the mountain, and the conduct of the work was confided to Bubaris, the son of Megabyzus, and Antachæus, son of Artæus, both of whom were Persians.

XXII. Athos is a large and noble mountain, projecting into the sea, and inhabited: where it terminates on the land side it has the appearance of a peninsula, and forms an isthmus of about twelve stadia in breadth: the surface of this is interspersed with several small hills, reaching from the Acanthian Sea to that of Torone, which is opposite. Where Mount Athos terminates stands a Grecian city, called Sana: in the interior parts, between Sana and the elevation of Athos, are situated the towns of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssum, and Cleonæ, inhabited by Greeks. It was the object of the Persians to detach these from the continent.

XXIII. They proceeded to dig in this manner:

* This incident Mr. Richardson conceives to be utterly incredible. This promontory was, as he justly remarks, no more than two hundred miles from Athens; and yet Xerxes is said to have employed a number of men three years before his crossing the Hellespont, to separate it from the continent, and make a canal for his shipping. Themistocles also, who, from the time of the battle of Marathon, had been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion, never endeavoured to support his opinion by any allusion to this canal, the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation. Pococke, who visited Mount Athos, deems also the event highly improbable, and says that he could not perceive the smallest vestige of any such undertaking.—T.

the barbarians marked out the ground in the vicinity of Sana with a rope, assigning to each nation their particular station ; then sinking a deep trench, while they at the bottom continued digging, the nearest to them handed the earth to others standing immediately above them on ladders ; it was thus progressively elevated till it came to the summit, where they who stood received and carried it away. The brink of the trench giving way, except in that part where the Phœnicians were employed, occasioned a double labour ; and this, as the trench was no wider at top than at bottom, was unavoidable. But in this, as in other instances, the Phœnicians discovered their superior sagacity, for in the part allotted to them they commenced by making the breadth of the trench twice as large as was necessary ; and thus proceeding in an inclined direction, they made their work at the bottom of the prescribed dimensions. In this part was a meadow, which was their public place for business and for commerce, and where a vast quantity of corn was imported from Asia.

XXIV. The motive of Xerxes in this work* was, as far as I am able to conjecture, the vain desire of exhibiting his power, and of leaving a monument to posterity. When with very little trouble he might have transported his vessels over the isthmus, he chose rather to unite the two seas by a canal, of sufficient diameter to admit two triremes abreast. Those employed in this business were also ordered to throw bridges over the river Strymon.

* Plutarch, in his treatise *De Ira Cohibenda*, has preserved a ridiculous letter, supposed to have been written by Xerxes to Mount Athos. It was to this effect : “ O thou miserable Athos ! whose top now reaches to the heavens, I give thee in charge not to throw any great stones in my way, which may impede my work ! If thou shalt do this, I will cut thee in pieces and cast thee into the sea.”

This threat to the mountain is however at least as sensible as the chastisement inflicted on the Hellespont ; so that, if one anecdote be true, the other may also obtain credit.—*T.*

XXV. For these bridges Xerxes provided cordage made of the bark* of the biblos, and of white flax. The care of transporting provisions for the army was committed jointly to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, that the troops, as well as the beasts of burden, in this expedition to Greece, might not suffer from famine. After examining into the nature of the country, he directed stores to be deposited in every convenient station, which were supplied by transports and vessels of burden from the different parts of Asia. Of these the greater number were carried to that part of Thrace which is called the "White Coast;" others to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians; the remainder were severally distributed at Doriscus, at Eñon, on the banks of the Strymon, and in Macedonia.

XXVI. While these things were carrying on, Xerxes, at the head of all his land forces, left Critalis in Cappadocia, and marched towards Sardis: it was at Critalis that all those troops were appointed to assemble who were to attend the king by land: who the commander was that received from the king the promised gifts on account of the number and goodness of his troops, I am unable to decide, nor indeed can I say whether there was any competition on the subject. Passing the river Halys,† they came to Phrygia, and, continuing to advance, arrived at Celænæ, where are the fountains of the Mæander, as well as those of another river of equal size with the Mæander, called Catarracte, which, rising in the public square of Celænæ, empties itself into the Mæander. In the forum of this city is

* The Indians make very strong cordage of the bark of the cocoa-tree. The English word *cordage* comes from the Greek word *chorde*, a kind of gut of which cord was made.—*T*.

† If the reader will be pleased to remember that Herodotus makes the river Halys the boundary of the kingdoms of Cyrus and Croesus, it may lead to some interesting and useful reflections on the progress of ambition, and the fate of empires.—*T*.

suspended the skin of Marsyas,* which the Phrygians say was placed there after he had been flayed by Apollo.

XXVII. In this city lived a man named Pythius, son of Atys, a native of Lydia, who entertained Xerxes and all his army with great magnificence: he farther engaged to supply the king with money for the war. Xerxes was on this induced to inquire of his Persian attendants who this Pythius was, and what were the resources which enabled him to make these offers: "It is the same," they replied, "who presented your father Darius with a plane-tree and a vine of gold, and who, next to yourself, is the richest of mankind."†

* This story must be sufficiently familiar: See Ovid *Metamorph.*

The punishment of Marsyas, says Licetus, was only an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre, the flute was the first of all musical instruments; after the introduction of the lyre the flute came into disrepute, and nothing was to be gained by excelling on it. Pausanias, describing one of the pictures of Polygnotus, in his book of the Territories of Phocis, says, that in one of the temples of Delphi was a picture, which contained, among other figures, Marsyas sitting on a rock, and the youth Olympus by him, who seems to be learning to play on the flute.—*T.*

† Many wonderful anecdotes are related of the richness of individuals in more ancient times, among which this does not seem to be the least marvellous. The sum of which Pythius is said to have been possessed amounted to five millions and a half of our sterling money; this is according to the estimate of Prideaux; that given by Montfaucon differs essentially. "The denii," says the last writer, "weighed eight modern louis d'ors; therefore Pythius possessed thirty-two millions of louis d'ors." If so great, then, was the wealth of a single dependant on the sovereign of Persia, what must have been the riches of all the satraps, princes, nobility, &c. collectively?

Montfaucon, relating the history of Pythius, adds these reflections:—

"A man might in those days safely be rich, provided he obtained his riches honestly; and how great must have been the circulation in commerce, if a private man could amass so prodigious a sum!" The wealth which the Roman Crassus possessed was not much inferior; when he had consecrated a tenth

HER.—III.—K

XXVIII. These last words filled Xerxes with astonishment; and he could not refrain from asking Pythius himself the amount of his wealth: "Sir," he replied, "I conceal nothing from you, nor affect ignorance; but, as I am able, I will fairly tell you. As soon as I heard of your approach to the Grecian sea, I was desirous of giving you money for the war: on examining into the state of my affairs, I found that I was possessed of two thousand talents of silver, and four millions, wanting only seven thousand, of gold staters of Darius: all this I give you—my slaves and my farms will be sufficient to maintain me."

XXIX. "My Lydian friend," returned Xerxes, much delighted, "since I first left Persia, you are the only person who has treated my army with hospitality, or who, appearing in my presence, has voluntarily offered me a supply for the war. You have done both: in acknowledgment for which I offer you my friendship; you shall be my host, and I will give you the seven thousand staters, which are wanting to make your sum of four millions complete. Retain, therefore, and enjoy your property; persevere in your present mode of conduct, which will invariably operate to your happiness."

of his property to Hercules, and at ten thousand tables feasted all the people of Rome, besides giving as much corn to every citizen as was sufficient to last him three months, he found himself still possessed of seven thousand one hundred Roman talents, equivalent to a million and a half of our money. The gold which Solomon employed in overlaying the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, which was no more than thirty feet square, and thirty feet high, amounted to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The gold which he had in one year from Ophir was equal to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds; his annual tribute in gold, besides silver, was four millions seven hundred and ninety-five thousand two hundred pounds. Lucullus the Roman senator, whenever he supped in his room called the Apollo, expended fifty thousand Roman denarii, nearly equal to fifteen hundred pounds. See Plutarch, Montfaucon, and Prideaux. This story is related differently in Plutarch's treatise *De Virtutibus Mulierum*.—T.

XXX. Xerxes, having performed what he promised, proceeded on his march; passing by a Phrygian city, called Anaua, and a lake from which salt is made, he came to Colossæ.* This also is a city of Phrygia, and of considerable eminence: here the Lycus disappears, entering abruptly a chasm in the earth; but, at the distance of seven stadia, it again emerges, and continues its course to the Mæander. The Persian army, advancing from Colossæ, came to Cydrara, a place on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia: here a pillar had been erected by Cræsus, with an inscription defining the boundaries of the two countries.

XXXI. On entering Lydia from Phrygia they came to a place where two roads met, the one on the left leading to Caria, the other on the right to Sardis: to those who go by the latter it is necessary to cross the Mæander, and to pass Callatebus, a city where honey is made of the tamarisk and wheat. Xerxes here found a plane-tree, so very beautiful, that he adorned it with chains of gold, and assigned the guard of it† to one of the immortal band; the next day he came to the principal city of the Lydians.

XXXII. When arrived at Sardis, his first step was to send heralds into Greece, demanding earth and water, and commanding preparations should be made to entertain him. He did not, however, send either to Athens or Lacedæmon: his motive for repeating the demand to the other cities was the expectation that they who had before refused earth

* Colossæ, or Colossis, a town of Phrygia, near Laodicea, on the confines of Caria. This place is memorable in Scripture, on account of the epistle addressed by St. Paul to its inhabitants.—*T.*

† This caprice of Xerxes is ridiculed by Ælian, but with no great point or humour. He remarks that the beauty of a tree consists in its firm root, its spreading branches, its thick leaves, but that the bracelets of Xerxes, and gold of barbarians, would certainly be no addition to its excellence.—*T.*

and water to Darius, would, from their alarm at his approach, send it now : this he wished positively to know.

XXXIII. While he was preparing to go to Abydos, numbers were employed in throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, from Asia to Europe : between Sestos and Madytus, in the Chersonesus of the Hellespont, the coast towards the sea from Abydos is rough and woody. After this period, and at no remote interval of time, Xanthippus, son of Ariphon, and commander of the Athenians, in this place took Artayctes, a Persian, and governor of Sestos, prisoner : he was crucified alive : he had formerly carried some females to the temple of Protesilaus in Elæos, and ill treated them.

XXXIV. They on whom the office was imposed proceeded in the work of the bridge, commencing at the side next Abydos. The Phœnicians used a cordage made of linen, the Egyptians the bark of the biblos ; from Abydos to the opposite continent is a space of seven stadia.* The bridge was no sooner completed than a great tempest arose, which tore in pieces and destroyed the whole of their labour.

XXXV. When Xerxes heard of what had happened, he was so enraged that he ordered three hundred lashes to be inflicted on the Hellespont, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea. I have been informed that he even sent some executioners

* The Hellespont was so called by the ancients, because Helle, attempting to swim over here, on the ram with the golden fleece, was drowned. The Europeans call it the Dardanelles, as well as the castles about the middle of it ; the Turks gave it the name of Bogas (the mouth or entrance). The entrance to the Dardanelles is now to be computed from the Asia lighthouse, about a league without Lamsac, and from the Europe lighthouse, half a league to the north of Gallipoli : the whole length is about twenty-six miles ; the broadest part is not computed to be above four miles over, though at Gallipoli it was judged by the ancients to be five miles, and from Sestos to Abydos only seven stadia.—*Pecocks*.

to brand the Hellespont with marks of ignominy. but it is certain that he ordered those who inflicted the lashes to use these barbarous and mad expressions: "Thou ungracious water, thy master condemns thee to this punishment, for having injured him without provocation. Xerxes the king will pass over thee, whether thou consentest or not: just is it that no man honours thee with sacrifice, for thou art insidious, and of an ungrateful flavour." After thus treating the sea, the king commanded those who presided over the construction of the bridge to be beheaded.

XXXVI. These commands were executed by those on whom that unpleasing office was conferred. A bridge was then constructed by a different set of architects, who performed it in the following manner: they connected together ships of different kinds; some long vessels of fifty oars, others three-banked galleys, to the number of three hundred and sixty on the side towards the Euxine Sea, and three hundred and thirteen on that of the Hellespont. The former of these were placed transversely; but the latter, to diminish the strain on the cables, in the direction of the current. When these vessels were firmly connected to each other, they were secured on each side by anchors of great length; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine; on the lower, towards the Ægean Sea, on account of the south and southeast winds. They left, however, openings in three places, sufficient to afford a passage for light vessels which might have occasion to sail into the Euxine or from it: having performed this, they extended cables from the shore,* stretching them on large capstans

* That is, from shore to shore, and doubtless within each range of ships, at such a distance from each other as to be of a convenient breadth for the bridge; thus the ships served as piers to support the weight; and the cables resting on the ves-

of wood; for this purpose they did not employ a number of separate cables, but united two of white flax with four of biblos. These were alike in thickness, and apparently so in goodness; but those of flax were in proportion much the more solid, weighing not less than a talent to every cubit. When the pass was thus secured, they sawed out rafters of wood, making their length equal to the space required for the bridge; these they laid in order across on the extended cables, and then bound them fast together. They next brought unwrought wood, which they placed very regularly on the rafters; over all they threw earth, which they raised to a proper height, and finished all by a fence on each side, that the horses and other beasts of burden might not be terrified by looking down on the sea.

XXXVII. The bridges were at length completed, and the work at Mount Athos finished: to prevent the canal at this place being choked up by the flow of the tides, deep trenches were sunk at its mouth. The army had wintered at Sardis; but, on receiving intelligence of the above, they marched at the commencement of the spring for Abydos. At the moment of their departure, the sun, which before gave his full light, in a bright unclouded atmosphere, withdrew his beams, and the darkest night succeeded. Xerxes, alarmed at this incident, consulted the magi on what it might portend. They replied, that the protection of Heaven was withdrawn from the Greeks: the sun, they observed, was the tutelar divinity of Greece, as the moon was of Persia.* The

sels, or something projecting from them, formed the foundation for the road by which the army was to pass.

* Several of the oriental nations worshipped the moon as a divinity. The Jews were reproved for doing this by the Prophet Jeremiah: see ch. xlv. 17.

"Let us sacrifice to the queen of heaven, and pour out our drink-offerings unto her," &c.—T.

answer was so satisfactory to Xerxes, that he proceeded with increased alacrity.

XXXVIII. During the march, Pythius the Lydian, who was much intimidated by the prodigy which had appeared, went to the king: deriving confidence from the liberality he had shown and received, he thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "I entreat a favour no less trifling to you than important to myself." Xerxes, not imagining what he was about to ask, promised to grant it, and desired to know what he would have. Pythius, on this, became still more bold: "Sir," he returned, "I have five sons, who are all with you in this Grecian expedition: I would entreat you to pity my age, and dispense with the presence of the eldest. Take with you the four others, but leave this to manage my affairs; so may you return in safety, after the accomplishment of your wishes."

XXXIX. Xerxes, in great indignation,* made this reply: "Infamous man! you see me embark my all in this Grecian war; myself, my children, my brothers, my domestics, and my friends; how dare you, then, presume to mention your son; you who are my slave, and whose duty it is to accompany me on this occasion with all your family, and even your wife!† Remember this, the spirit of a man resides

* No two characters could well afford a more striking contrast to each other than those of Darius and Xerxes; that of Darius was on various occasions marked by the tenderest humanity: it is unnecessary to specify any, as numerous instances occur in the course of this work. Xerxes, on the contrary, was insolent, imperious, and unfeeling; and, viewing the whole of his conduct, we are at a loss which to reprobate most, his want of sagacity, of true courage, or real sensibility. The example before us, as we have nothing on record of the softer or more amiable kind to contrast it with, as it was not only unprovoked, but as the unsolicited liberality of Pythius demanded a very different return, we are compelled to consign to everlasting infamy, as an act of consummate meanness and brutality.—T.

† This expression may at first sight appear a little singular: its apparent absurdity vanishes when we take into consideration

in his ears ; when he hears what is agreeable to him, the pleasure diffuses itself over all his body ; but, when the contrary happens, he is anxious and uneasy. If your former conduct was good, and your promises yet better, you still cannot boast of having surpassed the king in liberality. Although your present behaviour is base and insolent, you shall be punished less severely than you deserve : your former hospitality preserves yourself and four of your children ; the fifth, whom you most regard, shall pay the penalty of your crime." As soon as he had finished, the king commanded the proper officers to find the eldest son of Pythius, and divide his body in two : he then ordered one part of the body to be thrown on the right side of the road, the other on the left, while the army continued their march between them.

XL. The march was conducted in the following order : first of all went those who had the care of the baggage ; they were followed by a promiscuous body of strangers of all nations, without any regularity, but to the amount of more than half the army ; after these was a considerable interval, for these did not join the troops where the king was ; next came a thousand horse, the flower of the Persian army, who were followed by the same number of spearmen, in like manner selected, trailing their pikes on the ground : behind these were ten sacred horses called Nisæan,* with very superb trappings (they take their name from a certain district in Media called Nisæus, remarkable for producing horses of an extraordinary size) : the sacred car of Jupiter was next in the procession ; it was drawn by eight white horses, behind which, on foot, was the charioteer, with the reins in his hands ; for no mortal is

the jealous care with which the orientals have in all ages secluded their women from the public eye.—*T*.

* Suidas says that these horses were also remarkable for their swiftness.—*T*.

permitted to sit in this car; then came Xerxes himself, in a chariot* drawn by Nisæan horses: by his side sat his charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes the Persian.

XLi. Such was the order in which Xerxes departed from Sardis; but, as often as occasion required, he left his chariot for a common carriage. A thousand of the first and noblest Persians attended his person, bearing their spears according to the custom of their country; and a thousand horse, selected like the former, immediately succeeded. A body of ten thousand chosen infantry came next: a thousand of these had at the extremity of their spears a pomegranate of gold; the remaining nine thousand, whom the former enclosed, had in the same manner pomegranates of silver. They who preceded Xerxes, and trailed their spears, had their arms decorated with gold; they who followed him had, as we have described, golden pomegranates: these ten thousand foot were followed by an equal number of Persian cavalry: at an interval of about two furlongs, followed a numerous, irregular, and promiscuous multitude.

XLII. From Lydia the army continued its march along the banks of the Caïcus to Mysia, and, leaving Mount Canæ on the left, proceeded through Atarnis to the city Carina. Moving hence over the plains of Thebes, and passing by Adramyttium and Antandros, a Pelasgian city, they left Mount Ida to the left, and entered the district of Ilium. In the very first night which they passed under Ida a furious storm of thunder and lightning arose, which destroyed numbers of the troops. From hence they advanced to the Scamander: this river, first of all, after their departure from Sardis, failed in supplying

* The curious reader will find all the different kinds of ancient chariots, and other carriages, enumerated and explained in Montfaucon's *Antiquities*.—T.

XLVI. Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, who with so much freedom had at first opposed the expedition against Greece, observed the king's emotion: "How different, sir," said he, addressing him, "is your present behaviour from what it was a few minutes since! You then esteemed yourself happy; you now are dissolved to tears."—"My reflection," answered Xerxes, "on the transitory period of human life excited my compassion for this vast multitude, not one of whom will complete the term of one hundred years."—"This," returned Artabanus, "is not to be reckoned the greatest calamity to which human beings are exposed; for, short as life is, there is no one in this multitude, nor indeed in the universe, who has been so truly happy as not repeatedly to have desired death rather than life. The oppressions of misfortune, and the pangs of disease, render the short hours of life tedious and painful: death

A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind:
While this reflection fill'd his eyes with tears—
That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
Not one among those millions should survive.
Whence, to obscure thy pride, arose that cloud?
Was it that once humanity could touch
A tyrant's breast? Or rather did thy soul
Repine, O Xerxes! at the bitter thought
That all thy pow'r was mortal?—*Glover's Leonidas.*

Seneca justly points out the inconsistency of these tears: "The very man," says he, "who shed them was about to precipitate their fate, losing some by land, some by sea, some in battle, some in flight; in a word, destroying within a very little space of time that multitude, whose death within a hundred years he now appeared to dread."—He also assigns, as the truer cause of his regret, the idea which concludes the above citation from Glover. Rollin has expressed the thought of Seneca with some improvement: "He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts on himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war." The younger Pliny rather justifies his tears.—*T.*

thus becomes the most delightful refuge of the unfortunate; and perhaps the invidiousness of the Deity is most apparent by the very pleasures we are suffered to enjoy."

XLVII. "Artabanus," replied Xerxes, "human life is what you represent it; but we will omit reflecting on what fills us with uneasiness, and enjoy the pleasures which are before us: rather tell me, has the vision which you saw impressed full conviction on your mind, or do your former sentiments incline you to dissuade me from this Grecian war?—Speak without reserve."—"May the vision, O king!" replied Artabanus, "which we have mutually seen, succeed to both our wishes! For my own part, I am still so full of apprehensions as not at all to be master of myself; after reflecting seriously on the subject, I discern two important things exceedingly hostile to your views."

XLVIII. "What, my good friend, can these two things possibly be?" replied Xerxes. "Do you think unfavourably of our land army, as not being sufficiently numerous? Do you imagine the Greeks will be able to collect one more powerful? Can you conceive our fleet inferior to that of our enemies?—or do both these considerations together distress you? If our force does not seem to you sufficiently effective, re-enforcements may soon be provided."

XLIX. "No one, sir," answered Artabanus, "in his proper senses, could object either to your army or to the multitude of your fleet: should you increase their number, the more hostile would the two things be of which I speak: I allude to the land and the sea. In case of any sudden tempest you will find no harbour, as I conjecture, sufficiently capacious or convenient for the protection of your fleet: no one port would answer this purpose; you must have the whole extent of the continent: your being without a resource of this kind should induce you

to remember that fortune commands men,* and not men fortune. This is one of the calamities which threaten you. I will now explain the other:—the land is also your enemy: your meeting with no resistance will render it more so, as you will be thus seduced imperceptibly to advance: it is the nature of man never to be satisfied with success: thus, having no enemy to encounter, every moment of time, and addition to your progress, will be gradually introductive of famine. He, therefore, who is truly wise, will as carefully deliberate about the possible event of things as he will be bold and intrepid in action.”†

L. Xerxes made this reply; “What you allege, Artabanus, is certainly reasonable: but you should not so much give way to fear as to see every thing in the worst point of view: if, in consulting upon any matter, we were to be influenced by the consideration of every possible contingency, we should execute nothing. It is better to submit to half of the evil which may be the result of any measure, than to remain in inactivity from the fear of what may eventually occur. If you oppose such sentiments as have been delivered, without informing us what more proper conduct to pursue, you are not more deserving of praise than they are whom you oppose. I am of opinion that no man is qualified to speak on any subject with decision: they who are

* This sentiment is beautifully expressed in Ecclesiastes.

† “I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.”

A moralist may perhaps be excused for adding, as a comment to the above, the simple but elegant line of Pope:—

Chance is direction which thou canst not see.—*T*.

† Larcher quotes, as a parallel passage to this, these words from Sallust.—Catilin. c. i.

Prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est.

HER.—III.—L

bold and enterprising are more frequently successful than they who are slow in their measures from extreme deliberation. You are sensible to what a height the power of Persia has arrived, which would never have been the case if my predecessors had either been biased by such sentiments as yours, or listened to such advisers: it was their contempt of danger which promoted their country's glory, for great exploits are always attended with proportionable danger.* We, therefore, emulous of their reputation, have selected the best season of the year for our enterprise; and, having effectually conquered Europe, we shall return without experience of famine or any other calamity: we have with us abundance of provisions, and the nations among which we arrive will supply us with corn; for they against whom we advance are not shepherds, but husbandmen."

LI. "Since, sir," returned Artabanus, "you will suffer no mention to be made of fear, at least listen to my advice: where a number of things are to be discussed, prolixity is unavoidable. Cyrus, son of Cambyses, made all Ionia tributary to Persia, Athens excepted; do not, therefore, I entreat you, lead these men against those from whom they are immediately descended: without the Ionians, we are more than a sufficient match for our opponents. They must either be most base, by assisting to reduce the principal city of their country, or, by contributing to its freedom, will do what is most just.

* The steep ascent must be with toil subdued;

Watchings and cares must win the lofty prize
Proposed by Heaven—true bliss, and real good.

Honour rewards the brave and bold alone,
She spurns the timorous, indolent, and base;

Danger and toil stand stern before her throne,
And guard, so Jove commands, the sacred place:

Who seeks her must the mighty cost sustain,

And pay the price of fame—labour, and care, and pain.

Choice of Hercules.

If they shall prove the former, they can render us no material service ; if the latter, they may bring destruction on your army. Remember, therefore, the truth of the ancient proverb, ‘ When we commence a thing we cannot always tell how it will end.’ ”

LII. “ Artabanus,” interrupted Xerxes, “ your suspicions of the fidelity of the Ionians must be false and injurious ; of their constancy we have had sufficient testimony, as you yourself must be convinced, as well as all those who served under Darius against the Scythians. It was in their power to save or to destroy all the forces of Persia ; but they preserved their faith, their honour, and their gratitude : add to this, they have left in our dominions their wives, their children, and their wealth, and, therefore, dare not meditate any thing against us. Indulge, therefore, no apprehensions, but cheerfully watch over my family, and preserve my authority : to you I commit the exercise of my power.”

LIII. Xerxes after this interview dismissed Artabanus to Susa, and a second time called an assembly of the most illustrious Persians. As soon as they were met he thus addressed them : “ My motive, Persians, for thus convoking you, is to entreat you to behave like men, and not dishonour the many great exploits of our ancestors : let us individually and collectively exert ourselves. We are engaged in a common cause ; and I the rather call on you to display your valour, because I understand we are advancing against a warlike people, whom, if we overcome, no one will in future dare oppose us. Let us therefore proceed, having first implored the aid of the gods of Persia.”

LIV. On the same day they prepared to pass the bridge : the next morning, while they waited for the rising of the sun, they burnt on the bridge all manner of perfumes, and strewed the way with

branches of myrtle.* When the sun appeared Xerxes poured into the sea a libation from a golden vessel, and then, addressing the sun, he implored him to avert from the Persians every calamity till they should totally have vanquished Europe, arriving at its extremest limits. Xerxes then threw the cup into the Hellespont, together with a golden goblet, and a Persian cimeter. I am not able to determine whether the king, by throwing these things into the Hellespont, intended to make an offering to the sun, or whether he wished thus to make compensation to the sea for having formerly chastised it.

LV. When this was done, all the infantry and the horse were made to pass over that part of the bridge which was towards the Euxine; over that to the Ægean went the servants of the camp, and the beasts of burden. They were preceded by ten thousand Persians, having garlands on their heads; and these were followed by a promiscuous multitude of all nations: these passed on the first day. The first who went over the next day were the knights, and they who trailed their spears; these, also, had garlands on their heads; next came the sacred horses, and the sacred car; afterward Xerxes himself, who was followed by a body of spearmen, and a thousand horse. The remainder of the army

* The myrtle was with the ancients a very favourite plant, and always expressive of triumph and joy: the hero wore it as a mark of victory; the bridegroom on his bridal day; and friends presented each other with myrtle garlands in the conviviality of the banquet. Venus is said to have been adorned with it when Paris decided in her favour the prize of beauty, and that for this reason it was deemed odious to Juno and Minerva. It was probably for this reason, that when all other flowers and shrubs might be used in the festival of the Bona Dea at Rome, myrtle alone was excluded.—See Rosinus. Harmodius and Aristogiton, before mentioned, when they slew the Athenian tyrant, had their swords concealed beneath wreaths of myrtle: of which incident, as recorded in a fragment of Alcæos, Sir William Jones has made a happy use in his Poem to Liberty; I have already quoted the passage.

closed the procession, and at the same time the fleet moved to the opposite shore. I have heard from some that the king himself was the last who passed the bridge.

LVl. As soon as Xerxes had set foot in Europe, he saw his troops driven over the bridge by the force of blows; and seven whole days and as many nights were consumed in the passage of his army. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, an inhabitant of the country is said to have exclaimed, "Why, O Jupiter! under the appearance of a Persian, and for the name of Jupiter taking that of Xerxes, art thou come to distract and persecute Greece? or why bring so vast a multitude, when able to accomplish thy purpose without them?"

LVII. When all were gone over, and were proceeding on their march, a wonderful prodigy appeared, which, though disregarded by Xerxes, had an obvious meaning—a mare brought forth a hare: from this it might have been inferred that Xerxes, who had led an army into Greece with much ostentation and insolence, should be involved in personal danger, and compelled to return with dishonour. While yet at Sardis he had seen another prodigy—a mule produced a young one of both sexes.

LVIII. Neither of these incidents made any impression on his mind, and he continued to advance with his army by land, while his fleet, passing beyond the Hellespont, coasted along the shore in an opposite direction. The latter sailed towards the west to the promontory of Sarpedon, where they were commanded to remain; the former proceeded eastward through the Chersonesus, having on their right the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas, on the left the city of Cardia. Moving onward, through the midst of a city called Agera, they turned aside to the Gulf of Melana, and a river of the same name, the waters of which were not sufficient for the troops. Having passed this river, which gives

its name to the above-mentioned gulf, they directed their march westward; and, passing Ænos, a city of Æolia, and the Lake Stertoris, they came to Doriscus.

LIX. Doriscus is on the coast, and is a spacious plain of Thrace, through which the great river Hebrus flows. Here was a royal fort called Doriscus, in which Darius, in his expedition against Scythia, had placed a Persian garrison. This appearing a proper place for the purpose, Xerxes gave orders to have his army here marshalled and numbered. The fleet being all arrived off the shore near Doriscus, their officers ranged them in order near where Salo, a Samothracian town, and Zena, are situated. At the extremity of this shore is the celebrated promontory of Serrium, which formerly belonged to the Ciconians. The crews having brought their vessels to shore,* enjoyed an interval of repose, while Xerxes was drawing up his troops on the plain of Doriscus.

LX. I am not able to specify what number of men each nation supplied, as no one has recorded it. The whole amount of the land forces was seventeen hundred thousand.† Their mode of ascertaining the

* As the vessels were not in those times so considerable as ours, they drew them on shore whenever they wanted to remain any time in one place. This custom, which we learn from Homer was in use in the time of the Trojan war, was also practised in the better ages of Greece. It is frequently mentioned by Xenophon, Thucydides, and other historians.—*Larcher*.

† I remain still in doubt, says Richardson, whether any such expedition was ever undertaken by the *paramount sovereign of Persia*. Disguised in name by some Greek corruption, Xerxes may possibly have been a feudatory prince or viceroy of the western districts: and that an invasion of Greece may have possibly taken place under this prince, I shall readily believe, but on a scale, I must also believe, infinitely narrower than the least exaggerated description of the Greek historians.

In Herodotus the reputed followers of Xerxes amount to 5,283,220. Isocrates, in his Panathenaïcos, estimates the land army in round numbers at 5,000,000. And with them Plutarch

number was this : they drew up in one place a body of ten thousand men ; making these stand together as compactly as possible, they drew a circle round

in general agrees : but such myriads appeared to Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other later writers, so much stretched beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four fifths, to bring them within the line of possibility. Yet what is this but a singular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the most consequential points of the expedition ? What circumstance in the whole narration is more explicit in Herodotus, or, by its frequent repetition, not in figures, but in words at length, seems less liable to the mistake of copiers ? &c.—See *Richardson*.

On this subject Larcher, who probably had never seen Richardson's book, writes as follows :—

This immense army astonishes the imagination, but still is not incredible. All the people dependant on Persia were slaves ; they were compelled to march, without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or advanced age were probably the only reasons which excused them from bearing arms. The only reasonable objection to be made to this recital of Herodotus is that which Voltaire has omitted to make—where were provisions to be had for so numerous an army ? But Herodotus has anticipated this objection : “ We have with us,” says Xerxes, “ abundance of provisions, and all the nations among which we shall come, not being shepherds, but husbandmen, we shall find corn in their country, which we shall appropriate to our own use.”

Subsequent writers have, it is true, differed from Herodotus, and diminished the number of the army of Xerxes ; but Herodotus, who was in some measure a contemporary, and who recited his history to Greeks assembled at Olympia, where were many who fought at Salâmis and Platea, is more deserving of credit than later historians.

The truth, perhaps, may lie between the two different opinions of Richardson and Larcher. It is not likely, as there were many exiles from Greece at the court of Persia, that Xerxes should be ignorant of the numbers and resources of Greece. To lead there so many millions seems at first sight not only unnecessary, but preposterous. Admitting that so vast an army had marched against Greece, no one of common sense would have thought of making an attack by the way of Thermopylæ, where the passage must have been so tedious, and any resistance, as so few in proportion could possibly be brought to act, might be made almost on equal terms : while, on the contrary, to make a descent, they had the whole range of coast before them. With respect to provisions, the difficulty appears still greater,

them. Dismissing these, they enclosed the circle with a wall breast high: into this they introduced another and another ten thousand, till they thus obtained the precise number of the whole. They afterward ranged each nation apart.

LXI. The nations who composed the army were these. I speak of the Persians first, who wore small helmets on their heads, which they call *tiaræ*: their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves, and adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes; their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield called *gerra*, beneath which was a quiver. They had short spears, large bows, and arrows made of reeds; and on their right side a dagger suspended from a belt. They were led by Otanes, father of Amestris, one of the wives of Xerxes. The Persians were once called *Cephenes* by the Greeks; by themselves and their neighbours *Artæi*. But when Perseus, the son of Danae and Jupiter, went to reside with Cepheus, son of Belus, he married his daughter *Andromeda*, and had by her a son named *Perses*, who was left with his grandfather. Cepheus had no male offspring, and the Persians took their name from his grandson *Perses*.

LXII. The Medes had the same military dress; indeed, properly speaking, it is Median, and not Persian. Their leader was *Tigranes*, of the family of *Achæmenides*. In ancient times the Medes were universally called *Arii*; but when *Medea* of *Colchis* went over to these *Arii* from *Athens* they changed their names; this is what they say of themselves. The armour of the *Cissians* generally resembled that of the Persians, except that, instead of *tiaræ*, they

and almost insurmountable. I recur, therefore, to what I have before intimated; and believe, in contradiction to *Richardson*, that the expedition actually took place; but I cannot think, with *Larcher*, that the numbers recorded by *Herodotus* are consistent with probability.—*T*.

wore mitres: they were commanded by Anaphes, son of Otanes. The Hyrcani were also dressed like the Persians, and had for their leader Megapanus, who was afterward governor of Babylon.

LXIII. The Assyrian forces had brazen helmets, of a barbarous form, and difficult to describe. Their shields, spears, and daggers were like those of the Egyptians; they had also large clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuirases. These people the Greeks call Syrians, the barbarians Assyrians; mixed with these were the Chaldæans; the whole were under the conduct of Otaspes, son of Artachæus.

LXIV. The Bactrians, in what they wore on their heads, most resembled the Medes; but, after the custom of their country, they used bows made of reeds, and short spears. The Sacæ, who are a Scythian nation, had helmets terminating in a point, and wore breeches. They were also armed, in their country manner, with bows, daggers, and a hatchet called sagaris. This people, though really the Amyrgii of Scythia, were called Sacæ; the name given by the Persians indiscriminately to all Scythians. Hystaspes, son of Darius, by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and the Sacæ.

LXV. The dress of the Indians was cotton: their bows were made of reeds, as were also their arrows, which were pointed with iron: their leader was Pharnazathres, son of Artabates. The Arii had bows like the Medes, but were in other respects equipped like the Bactrians, and were under the command of Sisamnes, son of Hydarnes.

LXVI. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and the Dadicæ, had the same armour as the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmians were led by Artabanus, son of Pharnaces; Azanes, son of Artæus, commanded the Sogdians; as did Artyphius, son of Artabanus, the Gandarians and Dadicæ.

LXVII. The Caspians wore a vest made of skins: they had the armour of their country, bows made of reeds, and cimeters. Ariomardus, the brother of Artyphius, conducted them. The Sarangæ had beautiful habits of different and splendid colours: they had buskins reaching to their knees; bows and javelins like the Medes; and Pherendates, the son of Megabyzus, commanded them. The Pactyes also had vests made of skins; bows and daggers after the manner of their country; and Artyntes, son of Ithamates, was their leader.

LXVIII. The Utii, Mycii, and Paricanii, were armed like the Pactyes. The Utii and Mycii had for their commander Arsamenes, son of Darius: Sirometris, the son of Cebazus, conducted the Paricanii.

LXIX. The Arabians wore large folding vests, which they call ziræ: their bows were long, flexible, and crooked. The Ethiopians were clad in skins of panthers and lions: their bows were of palm, and not less than four cubits long. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds; instead of iron, they were pointed with stone, which they used to cut their seals. They had also spears, armed with the horns of goats, shaped like the iron of a lance; and, besides these, knotty clubs. It is the custom of this people, when they advance to combat, to daub one half of their body with gypsum, the other with vermilion. Arsanes, son of Darius by Artystone, a daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Arabians and the Ethiopians who came from beyond Egypt. Of all his wives, Darius loved Artystone the most, and he constructed a golden statue in her honour.

LXX. Those Ethiopians who came from the more eastern parts of their country (for there were two distinct bodies in this expedition) served with the Indians. These differed from the former in nothing but their language and their hair. The Oriental Ethiopians have their hair straight; those of

Africa have their hair more crisp and curling than any other men. The armour of the Asiatic Ethiopians resembled that of the Indians; but on their heads they wore the skins of horses' heads,* on which the manes and ears were left. The manes served as the plumes, and the ears remained stiff and erect. Instead of shields they held out before them the skins of cranes.

LXXI. The Libyans were dressed in skins, and had the points of their spears hardened in the fire. They were conducted by Messages, son of Aorizus.

LXXII. The Paphlagonians wore helmets made of network: they had small spears and bucklers, besides javelins and daggers. Agreeably to the fashion of their country, they had buskins which reached to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes, Matieni, Maryandeni, and Syrians, were habited like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are by the Persians called Cappadocians. The general of the Paphlagonians and Matieni was Dotus, son of Megasidres. The Maryandeni, Ligyes, and Syrians, were led by Bryas, son of Darius and Artystone.

LXXIII. The armour of the Phrygians differed very little from that of the Paphlagonians. According to the Macedonians, the Phrygians, as long as they were their neighbours, and lived in Europe, were called Bryges; on passing over into Asia, they took the name of Phrygians. The Armenians are a colony of the Phrygians, and were armed like them. Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius, commanded both nations.

LXXIV. The Lydians were equipped very like the Greeks. They were once called Meonians; but they changed their ancient name, and took that of Lydus, the son of Atys. The Nysians wore the helmets of their country, had small shields, and jav-

* These helmets were, according to the description of Cesar, in his Commentaries, very common among the ancient Germans.—*T.*

elins hardened in the fire. They are a colony of the Lydians, and named Olympians, from Mount Olympus. These two nations were conducted by Artaphernes, son of that Artaphernes who, in conjunction with Datis, had invaded Marathon.

LXXV. The Thracians wore on their heads skins of foxes; the other part of their dress consisted of a tunic, below which was a large and folding robe of various colours; they had also buskins made of the skins of fawns, and were armed with javelins, small bucklers, and daggers. They were, as themselves relate, formerly called Strymonians, from inhabiting the banks of the Strymon; but, passing over into Asia, were named Bithynians. They say they were expelled their country by the Teucrians and the Mysians.

LXXVI. Bassaces, son of Artabanus, commanded the Thracians of Asia: these used short bucklers made of hides, and each of them carried two Lycian spears: they had also helmets of brass, on the summit of which were the ears and horns of an ox, made also of brass, together with a crest. On their legs they had purple buskins. This people have among them an oracle of Mars.

LXXVII. The Cabalian Meonians, who are also called Lasonians, were habited like the Cilicians, whom I shall describe in their proper order. The Milyæ carried short spears, their vests confined with clasps; some of them had Lycian bows, and they wore helmets of leather. Of all these, Badres, son of Hystanes, was commander. The Moschi had helmets of wood, small bucklers, and short spears with long iron points.

LXXVIII. The Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynœci, were in all respects habited like the Moschi. Ariomardus, son of Darius and of Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, commanded the Moschi and the Tibareni. Artayctes, son of Chorasmes, who was governor of Sestos on the Hellespont, conducted the Macrones and Mosynœci.

LXXIX. The Mares, after the fashion of their country, had network casques, small leathern bucklers, and spears. The Colchians had helmets of wood, small bucklers made of the hard hides of oxen, short spears, and swords. Pharandates, son of Teaspes, commanded the Mares and the Colchians. The Allarodii and Saspies were dressed like the Colchians, and led by Masistius, son of Siromitras.

LXXX. The people who came from the islands of the Red Sea, to which those who labour under the king's displeasure are exiled, were habited and armed like the Medes; they were led by Mardontes, son of Bagæus, who, two years afterward, was slain at the battle of Mycale, where he commanded.

LXXXI. These were the nations who proceeded over the continent, and composed the infantry of the army. Their leaders, who marshalled and numbered them, I have already specified; they appointed also the captains of thousands and ten thousands, who again chose the centurions and leaders of ten. The different forces and nations had also other officers; but those whom I have named were the principal commanders.

LXXXII. The generals-in-chief of all the infantry were Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Trintatachmes, son of Artabanus, who had given his opinion against the Grecian war; and Smerdones, son of Otanes, which last two were sons of two brothers of Darius, the uncles of Xerxes. To the above may be added Masistes, son of Darius by Atossa, Gergis, son of Arinus, and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus.

LXXXIII. These were the commanders of all the infantry, except of the ten thousand chosen Persians, who were led by Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes. These were called the immortal band; and for this reason: if any of them died in battle, or by any disease, his place was immediately supplied. They were thus never more or less than ten thousand. The Persians surpassed all the rest of the army, not

only in magnificence, but valour. Their armour I have before described: they were also remarkable for the quantity of gold which adorned them: they had with them carriages for their women, and a vast number of attendants splendidly provided. They had also camels and beasts of burden to carry their provisions, besides those for the common occasions of the army.

LXXXIV. All the above nations are capable of serving on horseback; but on this expedition those only constituted the cavalry which I shall enumerate. The Persian horse, except a small number, whose casques were ornamented with brass and iron, were habited like the infantry.

LXXXV. There appeared of the Sagartii a body of eight thousand horse. These people lead a pastoral life, were originally of Persian descent, and use the Persian language: their dress is something between the Persian and the Pactyan: they have no offensive weapons, either of iron or brass, except their daggers: their principal dependance in action is on cords made of twisted leather, which they use in this manner: when they engage an enemy they throw out these cords, having a noose at the extremity: if they entangle* in them either horse or man, they without difficulty put him to death. These forces were embodied with the Persians.

LXXXVI. The cavalry of the Medes, and also of the Cissians, were accoutred like their infantry. The Indian horse, likewise, were armed like their foot; but, besides led horses, they had chariots of war, drawn by horses and wild asses.† The armour of

* A similar mode of fighting was practised by those of the Roman gladiators who were called the *retiarii*: beneath their bucklers they carried a kind of net, which, when the opportunity presented itself, they threw over the head of their adversaries the *secutores*, and, thus entangled, put them to death with a kind of trident, which constituted their offensive weapon.

—T.

† M. Larcher renders them zebras; but I do not see that

the Bactrian and Caspian horse and foot was alike. This was also the case with the Africans ; only it is to be observed that these last all fought from chariots. The Paricanian horse were also equipped like their foot, as were the Arabians, all of whom had camels, by no means inferior to the horse in swiftness.

LXXXVII. These were the cavalry, who formed a body of eighty thousand, exclusive of camels or chariots. They were drawn up in regular order; and the Arabians were disposed in the rear, that the horses might not be terrified, as a horse cannot endure a camel.

LXXXVIII. Harmamithres and Tithæus, the sons of Datis, commanded the cavalry: they had shared this command with Pharnuches; but he had been left at Sardis indisposed. As the troops were marching from Sardis he met with an unfortunate accident: a dog ran under the feet of his horse, which, being terrified, reared up and threw his rider. Pharnuches was in consequence seized with a vomiting of blood, which finally terminated in a consumption. His servants, in compliance with the orders of their master, led the horse to the place where the accident happened, and there cut off his legs at the knees. Thus was Pharnuches deprived of his command.

LXXXIX. The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven;* of these the Phœnicians, in conjunction with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished three hundred. They who served

this necessarily follows. The zebra is certainly a species of wild ass; but I conceive that every wild ass is not a zebra. Buffon makes mention of wild asses very distinct from the zebra. The French translator supports his opinion from the description in Oppian; but this is by no means convincing to me.—*T.*

* I give the account of the Persian fleet as stated by Herodotus, that the reader may compare it with that which follows of Diodorus Siculus:—

on board them had on their heads helmets nearly resembling those of the Greeks; they had breastplates made of linen, bucklers without bosses, and javelins. This people, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea, but migrated from thence to the maritime parts of Syria; all which district, as far as Egypt, is denominated Palestine. The Egyptians furnished two hundred vessels: they wore on their heads casques made of network: their shields were of a convex form, having large bosses; their spears were calculated for sea-service; and they had huge battleaxes. Their forces, in general, had breastplates, and large swords.

XC. The people of Cyprus supplied fifty vessels: as to their armour, their princes wore mitres on their heads; the troops wore tunics, but were in other respects habited like the Greeks. The Cyprians, according to their own account, are variously composed of the people of Salamis and Athens: some also came from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, others from Phœnicia, and others from Ethiopia.

XCI. From Cilicia came one hundred ships. This people had a kind of helmet peculiar to their

Herodotus.		Diodorus Siculus.	
The Phœnician vessels		The Greeks had	320
were	300		
Egyptians . . .	200	The Dorians . . .	40
Cyprians . . .	150	Æolians . . .	40
Cilicians . . .	100	Ionians . . .	100
Pamphylians . .	30	Hellespontians . .	80
Lycians . . .	50	Islanders . . .	50
Dorians . . .	30	Egyptians . . .	200
Carians . . .	70	Phœnicians . . .	300
Ionians . . .	100	Cilicians . . .	80
Islanders . . .	17	Carians . . .	80
Æolians . . .	60	Pamphylians . .	40
People of the Hel-		Lycians . . .	40
lespont . . .	100	Cyprians . . .	150
	<hr/> 1,207		<hr/> 1,200

country, and a small buckler made of the untanned hide of an ox; they had also tunics of wool: each of them had two spears, and a sword not unlike those of Egypt. Formerly they were called Hypachæans: they were named Cilicians from Cilex the Phœnician, the son of Agenor. The Pamphylians brought thirty ships, and were accoutred like the Greeks: they are descended from those who, after the destruction of Troy, were dispersed under Amphilochus and Calchas.*

XCII. Fifty ships were furnished by the Lycians, who were defended with breastplates and a kind of buskin: besides their spears, they had bows made of cornel-wood; their arrows were of reeds, but not feathered. From their shoulders the skin of a goat was suspended, and on their heads they wore a cap with a plume of feathers: they had also axes and daggers. They are descended from the Cretans, and were once called Termilæ; afterward they took the name of Lycians, from Lycus an Athenian, the son of Pandion.

XCIII. The Dorians of Asia came in thirty vessels: these being originally from the Peloponnesus, were provided with Grecian arms. The Carians had seventy ships, and were equipped in every respect like the Greeks, with the addition of axes and daggers. We have in a former place made mention of the name by which they were originally known.

* With the name of Calchas every one is acquainted; but few, perhaps, know the end he met with. Mopsus, son of Marto and Apollo, had, at the death of his mother, by right of inheritance, the oracle of Apollo at Claros. About this period Calchas, who, after the taking of Troy, led a wandering life, arrived at Colophon. The two seers maintained a long and obstinate dispute, till at length Amphimachus, king of Lycia, terminated their difference. Mopsus dissuaded him from going to war, foretelling that he would be defeated: Calchas, on the contrary, advised him to go, assuring him he would prove victorious. Amphimachus having been overcome, Mopsus received greater honours than ever, and Calchas put himself to death.—*Larcher*.

XCIV. The Ionians, armed like the Greeks, appeared with a fleet of one hundred ships. According to the Grecian account, this people, when they inhabited that part of the Peloponnesus called Achaia, before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus, were called the Pelasgian Ægialians. They were afterward named Ionians, from Ion, son of Xuthus.

XCV. The Islanders, in Grecian armour, were in seventeen vessels. These, once Pelasgian, were ultimately termed Ionian, for the same reason as the twelve Ionian cities founded by the Athenians. The Æolians brought sixty ships, and were armed in the Grecian manner: these also, according to the Greeks, were once Pelasgi. The inhabitants of the Hellespont, those of Abydos excepted, in conjunction with the people of Pontus, furnished one hundred vessels: those of Abydos, by the command of the king, remained to defend the bridges. The Hellespontians, being a mixed colony of Ionians and Dorians, were armed like the Greeks.

XCVI. In each of these vessels were detachments of Medes, Persians, and Sacæ. The best mariners were the Phœnicians, and of the people of Phœnicia, the Sidonians. The sea and land forces of all these nations were under the immediate command of their own officers. The mention of their particular names, as it is not essential to my purpose, I shall omit. It would, indeed, prove an uninteresting labour, as every city had its own commander, who, without any great distinction or authority, merely helped to swell the mass of the army. Those who had the principal conduct of the war I have already enumerated, as well as the Persian officers to whom the command of each nation was assigned.

XCVII. The commanders-in-chief of the sea forces were Ariabignes, son of Darius, Prexaspes, son of Aspathines, and Megabyzus, son of Megabates, together with Achæmenes, another son of Darius: of these, Ariabignes, son of Darius, by a daughter of

Gobryas, had the conduct of the Ionian and Carian fleets. The Egyptians were commanded by Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, both on the father's and mother's side. The two other generals conducted the rest of the fleet, to the amount of three thousand vessels, which were composed of vessels of thirty and fifty oars, of *cercuri*, and of long transports for the cavalry.

XCVIII. After the generals, the more distinguished officers of the fleet were the Sidonian Tetramnestus, son of Anysus; Martes of Tyre, son of Siro-mus; Nerbalus the Arabian, son of Arbalus; the Cilician Syennesis, son of Oromedon; and Cyberniscus, the son of Sicas. To these may be added Gortes, son of Chersis, and Timonax, son of Timagoras, both of them Cyprians, with the three Carian leaders, Histiaeus, son of Tymnis, Pigres, son of Sel-domus, and Damasithymus, son of Candaules.

XCIX. The other leaders I forbear to specify, it not appearing necessary; but it is impossible not to speak and with admiration, of Artemisia,* who,

* There were two of this name, both natives, and queens of Caria, from which circumstance they have by different writers been frequently confounded. Pliny, Hardouin, and Scaliger, have been guilty of this error, and have ascribed to the first what is true only of the last.—See *Bayle*, article *Artemisia*. Nothing can, however, be more clear and satisfactory, than that the Artemisia who accompanied Xerxes was the daughter of Lygdamis. The Artemisia whose mausoleum in honour of her husband's memory has rendered her so illustrious, was the daughter of Hecatæmnes, and lived at a much later period. The daughter of Lygdamis, of whom it is our business to speak, was certainly a great and illustrious character. Her wisdom is very conspicuous, from the excellent advice which she gave Xerxes; and her valour was eminently distinguished, above that of all the men, in the battle of Salamis. See in a subsequent paragraph the speech of Xerxes concerning her, which has been imitated by Justin: "Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who joined her forces with Xerxes, appeared among the forwardest commanders in the hottest engagements; and as on the man's side there was an effeminate cowardice, on the woman's was observed a masculine courage."

though a female, served in this Grecian expedition. On the death of her husband she enjoyed the supreme authority, for her son was not yet grown up; and her great spirit and vigour of mind alone induced her to exert herself on this occasion. She was the daughter of Lygdamis; by her father's side of Halicarnassus, by her mother of Cretan descent. She had the conduct of those of Halicarnassus, Cos, Nisyros, and Calydne. She furnished five ships, which, next to those of the Sidonians, were the best in the fleet. She was also distinguished among all the allies for the salutary counsels which she gave the king. The people I have recited as subject to Artemisia were, I believe, all of them Dorians. The Halicarnassians were originally of Træzene, the rest of Epidaurus. Such were the maritime forces.

C. Xerxes having ranged and numbered his armament, was desirous to take a survey of them all. Mounted in his car, he examined each nation in their turn. To all of them he proposed certain questions, the replies to which were noted down by his secretaries. In this manner he proceeded from first to last through all the ranks,* both of horse and

She is honourably mentioned by a variety of writers; but at length fell a victim to the tender passion. She was violently in love with a native of Abydos, named Dardanus; to rid herself of which she took the celebrated lover's leap from the promontory of Leucas, and perished.—*T.*

* The procession of Xerxes in his car through the ranks of his army is well described by Glover in his *Leonidas*, and seems to afford a fine subject for an historical painting:

The monarch will'd, and suddenly he heard
His trampling horses.—High on silver wheels
The iv'ry car with azure sapphires shone,
Cerulean beryls, and the jasper green,
The emerald, the ruby's glowing blush,
The flaming topaz, with its golden beam,
The pearl, the impurpled amethyst, and all
The various gems which India's mines afford,
To deck the pomp of kings. In burnish'd gold

foot. When this was done, the fleet also was pushed off from land, while the monarch, exchanging his chariot for a Sidonian vessel, on the deck of which he sat beneath a golden canopy, passed slowly the heads of the ships, proposing in like manner questions to each, and noting down the answers. The commanders had severally moored their vessels at about four plethra from shore, in one uniform line, with their sterns out to sea, and their crews under arms, as if prepared for battle. Xerxes viewed them, passing between their prows and the shore.

CI. When he had finished his survey he went on shore ; and, sending for Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who accompanied him in this expedition against Greece, he thus addressed him : “ From you, Demaratus, who are a Greek, and, as I understand from yourself and others, of no mean or contemptible city, I am desirous of obtaining information : do you think that the Greeks will presume to make any resistance against me ? For my own part, not to mention their want of unanimity, I cannot think that all the Greeks, joined to all the inhabitants of the west,

A sculptured eagle from behind display'd
His stately neck, and o'er the royal head
Outstretch'd his dazzling wings. Eight generous steeds,
Which on the famed Nisæan plain were nursed
In wintry Media, drew the radiant car.

—————At the signal bound
Th' attentive steeds, the chariot flies ; behind
Ten thousand horsemen in thunder sweep the field.—
He now draws nigh. Th' innumerable host
Roll back by nations, and admit their lord
With all his satraps. As from crystal domes,
Built underneath an arch of pendent seas,
When that stern power whose trident rules the floods,
With each cerulean deity, ascends
Throned in his pearly chariot—all the deep
Divides its bosom to th' emerging god ;
So Xerxes rode between the Asian world,
On either side receding.—*Leonidas.*

would be able to withstand my power:—what is your opinion on this subject?"—"Sir," said Demaratus, in reply, "shall I say what is true, or only what is agreeable?"* Xerxes commanded him to speak the truth, assuring him that he would be as agreeable to him as ever.

CII. "Since," answered Demaratus, "you command me to speak the truth, it shall be my care to deliver myself in such a manner that no one hereafter, speaking as I do, shall be convicted of falsehood. Greece has ever been the child of poverty; for its virtue it is indebted to the severe wisdom and discipline by which it has tempered its poverty, and repelled its oppressors. To this praise all the Dorian Greeks are entitled; but I shall now speak of the Lacedæmonians only. You may depend on it that your propositions, which threaten Greece with servitude, will be rejected, and, if all the other Greeks side with you against them, the Lacedæmonians will engage you in battle. Make no inquiries as to their number; for if they shall have but a thousand men, or even fewer, they will fight you."†

* This naturally brings to mind the old proverb in the *Andria* of Terence:

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Which expression Cicero, in his treatise de *Amicitia*, reprobates with proper dignity.

See also some lines, quoted in Athenæus, from Agatho, the English of which is, "If I speak the truth I shall not please you; if I please you I shall not speak the truth."

If, as appears from Xenophon in particular, and from various other writers, that to speak the truth constituted an indispensable part of Persian education, these words of Demaratus must have appeared an insult to Xerxes, not to be justified by any affected humility, or any real difference of rank. What Homer thought on this subject may be gathered from the two noble lines which he puts into the mouth of Achilles:

Who dares think one thing and another tell,
My soul detests him as the gates of hell.—*T.*

† In close imitation of the passage before us, the author of *Leonidas* makes Xerxes thus address Demaratus:—

CIII. "What, Demaratus," answered Xerxes, smiling, "think you that a thousand men will engage so vast a host? Tell me, you who, as you say, have been their prince, would you now willingly engage with ten opponents? If your countrymen be what you describe them, according to your own principles, you, who are their prince, should be equal to two of them. If, therefore, one of them be able to contend with ten of my soldiers, you may be reasonably expected to contend with twenty: such ought to be the test of your assertions. But if your countrymen really resemble in form and size you, and such other Greeks as appear in my presence, it should seem that what you say is dictated by pride and insolence; for how can it be shown that a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty thousand men, all equally free, and not subject to the will of an individual, could oppose so great an army? | Granting them to have five thousand men, we have still a majority of a thousand to one; they who, like us, are under the command of one person, from the fear of their leader, and under the immediate impression of the lash, are animated with a spirit contrary to their nature, and are made to attack a number greater than their own; but they who are urged by no constraint will not do this. If these Greeks were even equal to us in number, I cannot think they would dare to encounter Persians. The virtue to which you allude is to be found among ourselves, though the examples are certainly not numerous: there are

"Now declare

If yonder Grecians will oppose their march."
 To him the exile: "Deem not, mighty lord,
 I will deceive thy goodness by a tale,
 To give them glory who degraded mine;
 Nor be the king offended while I use
 The voice of truth—the Spartans never fly."
 Contemptuous smiled the monarch, and resumed,
 "Wilt thou in Lacedæmon once supreme,
 Encounter twenty Persians?"

among my Persian guards men who will singly contend with three Greeks.* The preposterous language which you use can only, therefore, proceed from your ignorance."

CIV. "I knew, my lord, from the first," returned Demaratus, "that by speaking truth I should offend you. I was induced to give you this representation of the Spartans from your urging me to speak without reserve. You may judge, sir, what my attachment must be to those who, not content with depriving me of my paternal dignities, drove me ignominiously into exile. Your father received, protected, and supported me: no prudent man will treat with ingratitude the kindness of his benefactor. I will never presume to engage in fight with ten men, nor even with two, nor, indeed, willingly with one; but, if necessity demanded, or danger provoked me, I would not hesitate to fight with any one of those who they say is a match for three Greeks. The Lacedæmonians, when they engage in single combat, are certainly not inferior to other men; but in a body they are not to be equalled. Although free, they are not so without some reserve: the law is their superior,† of which they stand in greater awe

* This vain boast of Xerxes was in the end punished by Polydamas. Darius, natural son of Artaxerxes, and who, by the favour of the Persians, succeeded to the throne, had heard of his remarkable exploits: having by promises allured him to Susa, Polydamas challenged three of those whom the Persians call the immortal, encountered them all at once, and slew them.—*Larcher.*

† Thomson, in his poem to Liberty, gives this just and animated description of Sparta:

———Spread on Eurota's bank,
Amid a circle of soft-rising hills,
The patient Sparta stood, the sober, hard,
And man-subduing city, which no shape
Of pain could conquer, nor of pleasure charm.
Lycurgus there built, on the solid base
Of equal life, so well a temper'd state,
Where mix'd each government in each just poise,

than your subjects do of you: they are obedient to what it commands,* and it commands them always not to fly from the field of battle, whatever may be the number of their adversaries. It is their duty to preserve their ranks, to conquer, or to die.† If what I say seem to you absurd, I am willing in future to be silent. I have spoken what I think, because the king commanded me, to whom may all he desires be accomplished!"

Each power so checking and supporting each,
That firm for ages and unmoved it stood,
The fort of Greece, without one giddy hour,
One shock of faction or of party rage:
For, drain'd the springs of wealth, corruption there
Lay wither'd at the root. Thrice happy land,
Had not neglected art with weedy vice
Confounded sunk; but if Athenian arts
Loved not the soil, yet there the calm abode
Of wisdom, virtue, philosophic ease,
Of manly sense, and wit in frugal phrase,
Confined and press'd into laconic force;
There, too, by rooting thence still treach'rous self,
The public and the private grew the same;
The children of the nursing public all,
And at its table fed: for that they toil'd,
For that they lived entire, and ev'n for that
The tender mother urged her son to die.

Liberty, part. ii. 106, &c.

Dr. Johnson says truly of this poem, that none of Thomson's works have been so little regarded; I may, nevertheless, venture to promise whoever has not perused it, that it will very well pay his attention.—*T.*

* "With the Lacedæmonians," says Plato, "the law is the king and master, and men are not the tyrants of the laws."—"The Deity, says he, in another place, "is the law of wise and moderate men; pleasure that of men who are foolish and intemperate."—*Larcher.*

† O conceive not, prince,
That Spartans want an object where to fix
Their eyes in reverence, in obedient dread.
To them more awful than the name of king
To Asia's trembling millions, is the law,
Whose sacred voice enjoins them to confront
Unnumber'd foes, to vanquish or to die.—*Leonidas.*

HER.—III.—F

CV. Xerxes smiled at these words of Demaratus, whom he dismissed without anger civilly from his presence. After the above conference, he removed from Doriscus the governor who had been placed there by Darius, and promoted in his room Mascamis, son of Megadostis. He then passed through Thrace with his army towards Greece.

CVI. To this Mascamis, as to the bravest of all the governors appointed either by himself or by Darius, Xerxes sent presents every year; and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, continued to do the same to his descendants. Before this expedition against Greece there had constantly been governors both in Thrace and the Hellespont, all of whom, except Mascamis, the Greeks afterward expelled: he alone retained Doriscus in his subjection, in defiance of the many and repeated exertions made to remove him. It was in remembrance of these services that he and all his descendants received presents from the kings of Persia.

CVII. The only one of all those expelled by the Greeks who enjoyed the good opinion of Xerxes, was Boges, the governor of Eion: this man he always mentioned in terms of esteem, and all his descendants were honourably regarded in Persia. Boges was not undeserving his great reputation: when he was besieged by the Athenians under the conduct of Cimon, son of Miltiades, he might, if he had thought proper, have retired into Asia: this he refused, and defended himself to the last extremity, from apprehensions that the king might ascribe his conduct to fear. When no provisions were left, he caused a large pile to be raised: he then slew his children, his wife, and all his family, and threw them into the fire; he next cast all the gold and silver of the place from the walls into the Strymon; lastly, he leaped himself into the flames. This man is therefore very deservedly extolled by the Persians.

CVIII. Xerxes, in his progress from Doriscus to

Greece, compelled all the people among whom he came to join his army. All this tract of country, as far as Thessaly, as I have before remarked, had been made tributary to the king, first by Megabyzus, and conclusively by Mardonius. Leaving Doriscus, he first passed beyond the Samothracian forts, the last of which, towards the west, is called Mesambria; contiguous to this is Stryme, a Thasian town. The river Lissus waters both these towns, the streams of which, on the present occasion, were insufficient for the army. This district was once called Galaice, now Briantica, and properly belonged to the Ciconians.

CIX. Xerxes, having passed the exhausted bed of the Lissus, continued his march beyond the Grecian cities of Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera: he passed also the following lakes in the vicinity of these towns: the Ismaris, between Maronea and Stryme, the Bistonis, in the neighbourhood of Dicæa, which is filled by the two streams of the Travus and Compasatus. Near Abdera is no lake of importance; but the king passed near the Nestus, which empties itself into the ocean. He proceeded onward through the more midland cities, in one of which is a lake almost of thirty stadia in circumference, full of fish, but remarkably salt; the waters of this proved only sufficient for the beasts of burden. The name of the city is Pistirus. These Grecian and maritime cities were to the left of Xerxes as he passed them.

CX. The nations of Thrace through which he marched are these: the Pæti, Ciconians, Bistones, Sapæi, Dersæi, Edonians, and the Satræ. The inhabitants of the maritime towns followed by sea; those inland, which I have already specified, were, except the Satræ, compelled to accompany the army by land.

CXI. The Satræ, as far as I know, never were subdued; they alone, of all the Thracians, have continued, to my memory, an independent nation.

They are remarkable for their valour. They inhabit lofty mountains covered with snow, but abounding in all kinds of trees : on the summit of one of their highest hills they have an oracle of Bacchus. The interpreters of these divine oracles are the Bessi : a priestess makes the responses, as at Delphi, and with the same ambiguity.

CXII. Xerxes continued to advance, and passed by two Pierian cities, one called Phagra, the other Pergamos ; to his right he left the mountain Pangæus, which is of great extent and height, and has mines both of gold and silver ; these are worked by the Pierians and Odomantj, and particularly by the Satræ.

CXIII. Beyond Pangæus, to the north, are the Pæonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoples. Xerxes passed all these, keeping a westward direction, till he came to the river Strymon, and the city of Eion. Boges, the governor of this last place, whom we have before mentioned, was then living. The country round Pangæus is called Phillis ; it extends to the west as far as the Angitis, which empties itself into the Strymon : to the south it continues till it meets the Strymon. To this river the magi offered a sacrifice of white horses.

CXIV. After performing these and many other religious rites to the Strymon, they proceeded through the Edonian district of the Nine Ways to where they found bridges thrown over the Strymon : when they heard that this place was named the Nine Ways, they buried there alive nine youths and as many virgins, natives of the country. This custom of burying alive is common in Persia ; and I have been informed that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she was of an advanced age, commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth to be interred alive, in honour of that deity who, as they suppose, exists under the earth.

CXV. Marching still forward, they left on the

shore, to the west, a Grecian city called Argilus; this, as well as the country beyond it, is called Bissaltia: leaving then to the left the gulf, which is near the temple of Neptune, they crossed the plain called Sileum, and passing the Greek city of Stagirus, came to Acanthus. The people of all these places, of Mount Pangæus, together with those whom we have enumerated, they carried along with them: they who dwelt on the coast went by sea; they who lived distant from the sea went by land. The line of country through which Xerxes led his army, is to the present day held in such extreme veneration by the Thracians, that they never disturb or cultivate it.

CXVI. On his arrival at Acanthus, the Persian monarch interchanged the rites of hospitality with the people, and presented each with a Median vest: * he was prompted to this conduct by the particular zeal which they discovered towards the war, and from their having completed the work of the canal.

CXVII. While Xerxes still continued at Acanthus, Artachæes, who had superintended the works of the canals, died: he was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, in great favour with the king, and the tallest of all the Persians: he wanted but four fingers of five royal cubits,† and was also remarkable for his great strength of voice. The king was much afflicted at his loss, and buried him with great magnificence, the whole army being employed in erecting a monument to his memory. The Acanthians, in compliance with an oracle, invoke him by name, and pay him the honours of a hero. Xerxes always considered the death of Artachæes as a great calamity.

* This was invented by Semiramis, the wife of Ninus: it was so very graceful, that the Medes adopted it after they had conquered Asia: the Persians followed their example.—*Larcher*.

† Supposing our author to mean here the Babylonian measure, this, according to the computation of D'Anville, would be seven feet eight inches high.—*Larcher*.

CXVIII. Those Greeks who entertained the Persian army, and provided a banquet for the king, were reduced to extreme misery, and compelled to abandon their country. On account of their cities distributed along the continent, the Thasians also feasted Xerxes and his forces: Antipater, the son of Orgis, a man of great reputation, was selected by his countrymen to preside on the occasion: by his account it appeared that four hundred talents of silver were expended for this purpose.

CXIX. No less expense devolved on the other cities, as appeared by the accounts delivered in by the different magistrates. As a long previous notice was given, preparations were made with suitable industry and magnificence. As soon as the royal will was made known by the heralds, the inhabitants of the several cities divided the corn which they possessed, and employed many months in reducing it to meal and flour. Some there were who purchased at a great price the first cattle they could procure, for the purpose of fattening them: others, with the same view of entertaining the army, provided birds both of the land and the water, which they preserved in cages and in ponds. Many employed themselves in making cups and goblets of gold and silver, with other utensils of the table; these last-mentioned articles were intended only for the king himself, and his more immediate attendants: with respect to the army in general, it was thought sufficient to furnish them with provision. On the approach of the main body a pavilion was erected, and properly prepared for the residence of the monarch; the rest of the troops remained in the open air. From the commencement of the feast to its conclusion, the fatigue of those who provided it is hardly to be expressed. The guests, after satisfying their appetite, passed the night on the place: the next morning, after tearing up the pavilion, and plundering its contents, they departed, without leaving any thing behind them.

CXX. On this occasion the witty remark of Megacreon of Abdera has been handed down to posterity. He advised the Abderites of both sexes to go in procession to their temples, and there, in the attitude of supplicants, entreat the gods to continue in future to avert from them the half of their calamities. With respect to the past, he thought their gratitude was due to Heaven, because Xerxes did not take two repasts in a day. If the Abderites, he observed, had been required to furnish a dinner as well as a supper, they must either have prevented the visit of the king by flight, or have been the most miserable of human beings.

CXXI. These people, severe as was the burden, fulfilled what had been enjoined them. From Acanthus, Xerxes dismissed the commanders of his fleet, requiring them to wait his orders at Therma. Therma is situated near the Thermæan Gulf, to which it gives its name. He had been taught to suppose this the most convenient road: by the command of Xerxes, the army had marched from Doriscus to Acanthus in three separate bodies: one went by the seacoast, moving with the fleet, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; a second proceeded through the midst of the continent, under the conduct of Trintatæchmes and Gergis: between these went the third detachment, with whom was Xerxes himself, and who were led by Smerdones and Megabyzus.

CXXII. As soon as the royal mandate was issued, the navy entered the canal which had been sunk at Mount Athos, and which was continued to the gulf, contiguous to which are the cities of Assa, Pidorus, Singus, and Sarga. Taking on board a supply of troops from these places, the fleet advanced towards the Thermæan Gulf, and doubling the Toronean promontory of Ampelos, passed by the following Grecian towns, from which also they took reinforcements of vessels and of men—Torona, Galep-

sus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus. All the above district is now named Sithonia.

CXXIII. From the promontory of Ampelos they proceeded by a short cut to the Canastrean cape; the point which, of all the district of Pallene, projects farthest into the sea: here they took with them other supplies of men and ships from Potidæ, Aphytes, Neapolis, Æga, Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana. These cities are situated in the region now called Pallene, known formerly by the name of Phlegra. Coasting onward to the station appointed, they supplied themselves with troops from the cities in the vicinity of Pallene and the Thermæan Gulf. The names of these, situate in what is now called the Cnossean region, are Lipaxus, Combrea, Lissæ, Gignonus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænea. From this last place, beyond which I shall forbear to specify the names of cities, the fleet went in a straight direction to the Thermæan Gulf and the coast of Mygdonia: it ultimately arrived at Therma, the place appointed, as also at Sindus and Chalestra, on the river Axius, which separates Mygdonia from Bottiæis. In a narrow neck of this region, leading to the sea, are found the cities of Ichnæ and Pella.

CXXIV. The naval forces stationed themselves near the river Axium, in the town of Therma, and the other neighbouring cities, where they waited for the king. Directing his march this way, Xerxes, with all his forces, left Acanthus, and proceeded over the continent through Pæonia and Crestonia, near the river Chidorus; which, taking its rise in Crestonia, flows through Mygdonia, and empties itself into a marsh which is above the river Axium.

CXXV. In the course of this march, the camels, which carried the provisions, were attacked by lions:* in the darkness of the night they left their

* "Herodotus," says Bellanger, in a note on this passage, "was no great naturalist. The Arabians, and all those who in-

accustomed abode, and, without molesting man or beast, fell on the camels only. That the lions should attack the camels alone, animals they had never before devoured, or even seen, is a fact which I relate with surprise, and am totally unable to explain.

CXXVI. These places abound with lions and wild bulls, the large horns of which are carried to Greece. On the one side the Nestus, which flows

habit the countries where are lions and camels, very well know that the lion loves the flesh of the camel."—See *Ælian*.

Herodotus, it must be confessed, was not remarkably well versed in natural history; but if he had been, it must always have appeared surprising to him, that lions, who had never before seen camels, or tasted their flesh, should attack them in preference to other beasts of burden. That in Arabia lions should prefer a camel to a horse, may seem natural enough: they know by experience the flesh of these two animals, and that of the camel is doubtless more to their taste: but what could have given them this knowledge in Macedonia? I confess that this would have appeared no less marvellous to me than to Herodotus.—*Larcher*.

With respect to the lion, many preposterous errors anciently prevailed, which modern improvements and researches in natural history have corrected and improved; nevertheless, the fact here recorded by Herodotus must ever appear marvellous. It seems, in the first place, that the region of Europe in which he has fixed these lions is too cold for producing those animals, and, according to every testimony, it was then colder than at present.

It is now well known that the lion, however urged by hunger, does not attack its prey boldly and in an open manner, but insidiously: as the camels, therefore, were certainly on this occasion accompanied by a multitude, it is not easy to conceive how they could well be exposed to the attacks of the lions. In the next place, it is not likely that the lions should be allured to the camels by their smell, for it is now very well ascertained that the lion has by no means an acute sense of smelling. With respect to the taste of the lion, it is said that, having once tasted human blood, it prefers it to all other food. Of the tiger, which is only a different species of the same genus with the lion, both being felines, it is said, but I know not from what accuracy of experiment or observation, that it prefers the flesh of an African to that of a European, the European to the American; but the assertion may be reasonably disputed.—*T*.

through Abdera, and on the other the Achelous, passing through Acarnania, are the limits beyond which no lions are found.* In the intermediate region between these two places, lions are produced; but no one has ever seen them in Europe, beyond the Nestus to the east, or beyond the Achelous to the west.

CXXVII. On his arrival at Therma, Xerxes halted with his army, which occupied the whole of the coast from Therma and Mygdonia, as far as the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon; which, forming the limits of Bottiæis and Macedonia, meet at last in the same channel: here the barbarians encamped. Of all the rivers I have enumerated, the Chidorus, which flows from Crestonia, was the only one which did not afford sufficient water for the troops.

CXXVIII. Xerxes, viewing from Therma, Olympus, and Ossa, Thessalian mountains of an extraordinary height, between which was a narrow passage where the Peneus poured its stream, and where was an entrance to Thessaly, he was desirous of sailing to the mouth of this river: for the way he had determined to march, as the safest, was through the high country of Macedonia, by the Perrhæbi and the town of Gonnus. He instantly, however, set about the accomplishment of his wish. He accordingly went on board a Sidonian vessel; for on such occasions he always preferred the ships from that country: leaving here his land forces, he gave the signal for all the fleet to prepare to set sail. Arriving at the mouth of the Peneus, he observed it with particular admiration, and desired to know of his guides if it would not be possible to turn the stream,

* Lions are not at all found in America, and fewer in Asia than Africa. The natural history of the lion may be perused in Buffon with much information and entertainment; but more real knowledge concerning this noble animal may perhaps be obtained from Sparman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, than from any other writer on this subject.—T.

and make it empty itself into the sea in some other place.

CXXIX. Thessaly is said to have been formerly a marsh, on all sides surrounded by lofty mountains ; to the east by Pelion and Ossa, whose bases meet each other ; to the north by Olympus ; to the west by Pindus ; to the south by Othrys. The space between these is Thessaly ; into which depressed region many rivers pour their waters, but more particularly these five ; the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus : all these, flowing from the mountains which surround Thessaly into the plain, were till then distinguished by specific names. They afterward unite in one narrow channel, and are poured into the sea. After their union they take the name of the Peneus only. It is said that formerly, before this aperture to the sea existed, all these rivers, and also the Lake Boëbeis, had not as now any specific name, but that their body of water was as large as at present, and the whole of Thessaly a sea. The Thessalians affirm, and not improbably, that the valley through which the Peneus flows was formed by Neptune. Whoever supposes that Neptune causes earthquakes, and that the consequent chasms are the work of that deity, may, on viewing this spot, easily ascribe it to his power : to me the separation of these mountains appears to have been the effect of an earthquake.*

* The reader may see in Philostratus the description of a picture in which Neptune is represented as in the act of separating the mountains.—See also Strabo. The tradition that Ossa and Olympus were anciently different parts of the same mountain, existed from a very remote period in Greece ; and, according to Mr. Wood, in his *Essay on Homer*, is not now obliterated. The valley through which the Peneus flows is the celebrated vale of Tempe, the fruitful theme of so many poetical effusions in ancient periods, as well as at the present. The river Peneus is nowhere better described than in Ovid.

Very few readers will require to be told that Ovid made the

CXXX. Xerxes, inquiring of his guides whether the Peneus might be conducted to the sea by any other channel, received from them, who were well acquainted with the situation of the country, this reply: "As Thessaly, O king! is on every side encircled by mountains, the Peneus can have no other communication with the sea."—"The Thessalians," Xerxes is said to have answered, "are a sagacious people. They have been careful to decline a contest for many reasons, and particularly as they must have discerned that their country would afford an easy conquest to an invader. All that would be necessary to deluge the whole of Thessaly, except the mountainous parts, would be to stop up the mouth of the river, and thus throw back its waters on the country." This observation referred to the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians, and the first Greeks who submitted to the king. He presumed that their conduct declared the general sentiments of the nation in his favour. After surveying the place he returned to Therma.

CXXXI. He remained a few days in the neighbourhood of Pieria, during which interval a detachment of the third of his army was employed in clearing the Macedonian mountains, to facilitate the passage of the troops into the country of the Per-rhæbi. At the same time the messengers who had been sent to require earth and water of the Greeks returned, some with and some without it.

CXXXII. Among those who sent it were the Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Enians, the Per-rhæbi, the Locri, the Magnetes, the Melians, the Achæans of Pthiotis, the Thebans, and the rest of the people of Bœotia, except the Thespians and Platæans. Against all these nations those Greeks who determined to resist the barbarians entered into a

banks of the Peneus the scene of his fable of Daphne and Apollo.—*T.*

solemn vow to the following effect:—that whatever Greeks submitted to the Persian, without the plea of unavoidable necessity, should, on any favourable change of their affairs, forfeit to the divinity of Delphi a tenth part of their property.

CXXXIII. Xerxes sent no messengers either to Athens or to Sparta; for when Darius had before sent to those places, the Athenians threw his people into their pit of punishment, the Lacedæmonians into wells, telling them to get the earth and water thence, and carry it to their king. The city and country of the Athenians were afterward laid waste; but that they suffered thus in consequence of their treatment of the ambassadors is more than I will assert; indeed, I can by no means ascribe it to that cause.

CXXXIV. But the vengeance of Talthybius, who had been the herald of Agamemnon, fell on the Lacedæmonians. There is at Sparta a temple of Talthybius; his posterity are called Talthybiadæ, and are employed, as a mark of honour, on all foreign embassies. A long time after the incident we have related, the entrails of the victims continued at Sparta to bear an unfavourable appearance, till the people, reduced to despondency, called a general assembly, in which they inquired by their heralds if any Lacedæmonian would die for his country.* On

* A superstitious idea prevailed among the ancients that the safety of a whole nation might be secured, or the life of an individual be preserved, by the voluntary devotion of one or more persons to death. Thus, among the Greeks, in the instance before us, and in the example of Leonidas, who devoted himself at Thermopylæ. The Romans were distinguished by the same absurd error: the chasm of the forum was supposed to close because a Roman knight voluntarily leaped into it; and a splendid victory over their adversaries was believed to be the consequence of the self-devotion of Decius. In succeeding times it became customary for individuals to devote and consecrate themselves, their fortunes, and their lives, to the service of the emperors. The folly began with Augustus, to whom one Pacuvius thus devoted himself. That better devotion, the result,

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this, Sperthies, son of Aneristus, and Bulis, son of Nicolaus, Spartans of great accomplishments and distinction, offered themselves to undergo whatever punishment Xerxes, the son of Darius, should think proper to inflict on account of the murder of his ambassadors. These men, therefore, the Spartans sent to the Medes as to certain death.

CXXXV. The magnanimity of these two men, as well as the words which they used, deserve admiration. On their way to Susa, they came to Hydarnes, a native of Persia, and governor of the vanquished places in Asia near the sea: he entertained them with much liberality and kindness, and addressed them as follows: "Why, O Lacedæmonians! will you reject the friendship of the king? From me, and from my condition, you may learn how well he knows to reward merit. He already thinks highly of your virtue; and if you will but enter into his service, he will doubtless assign to each of you some government in Greece."—"Hydarnes," they replied, "your advice with respect to us is inconsistent: you speak from the experience of your own, but with an entire ignorance of our situation. To you servitude is familiar; but how sweet a thing liberty is you have never known; if you had, you yourself would have advised us to make all possible exertions to preserve it."

not of superstition, but of genuine patriotism, is thus well described by Thomson:—

But ah! too little known to modern times,
Be not the noblest passion past unsung,
That ray peculiar from unbounded love
Effused, which kindles the heroic soul—
Devotion to the public. Glorious flame,
Celestial ardour, in what unknown worlds,
Profusely scatter'd through the blue immense,
Hast thou been blessing myriads, since in Rome,
Old virtuous Rome, so many deathless names
From thee their lustre drew? Since, taught by thee,
Their poverty put splendour to the blush,
Pain grew luxurious, and death delight?—*T.*

CXXXVI. When introduced, on their arrival at Susa, to the royal presence, they were first ordered by the guards to fall prostrate and adore the king,* and some force was used to compel them: but this they refused to do, even if they should dash their heads against the ground. They were not, they said, accustomed to adore a man, nor was it for this purpose that they came. After persevering in such conduct, they addressed Xerxes himself in these and similar expressions: "King of the Medes! we are sent by our countrymen to make atonement for those ambassadors who perished at Sparta." Xerxes, with great magnanimity, said he would not imitate the example of the Lacedæmonians. They, in killing his ambassadors, had violated the laws of nations; he would not be guilty of that with which he reproached them, nor, by destroying their messengers, indirectly justify their crime.

CXXXVII. In consequence of this conduct of the Spartans, the indignation of Talthybius subsided for the present, notwithstanding the return of Sperthies and Bulis to their country. But, according to the Lacedæmonian account, this displeasure was, after a long interval, again conspicuous in the war between the people of the Peloponnesus and the Athenians. For my own part, I see no divine interposition† in this business: that the anger of Talthybius

* This was the compliment always paid to the kings of Persia, when admitted to their presence; but this the Greeks, with the exception of Themistocles and one or two more, uniformly refused to do. We learn from Valerius Maximus, that one Timagoras, an Athenian, having done this, was by his countrymen condemned to die, thinking the dignity of their city injured and degraded by this act of meanness.

Prideaux remarks, that this compliment of prostration before him must have been paid the King of Persia by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, or they could not have had access to him.

—T.

† To impute that to divine interposition which human sagacity is unable to account for or explain, seems the necessary result of ignorance combined with superstition. That in a case

should, without ceasing, continue to operate till the devoted individuals were sent from their country, seems just and reasonable ; but that it should ultimately fall on the children of these men, does not to me look like divine vengeance. Nicolaus, the son of Bulis, and Aneristus, the son of Sperthies, had taken a fishing-vessel, belonging to the Tirynthians,* full of men : being afterward sent on some public business into Asia by the Lacedæmonians, they were betrayed by Sitalces, son of Tereus, king of Thrace, and by Nymphodorus, son of Pythus, a man of Abdera. They were accordingly captured near Bisanthis, on the Hellespont, and being carried to Attica, were put to death by the Athenians ; as was also Aristetas, son of Adimanthus, a Corinthian. These events happened many years after the expedition of Xerxes.

CXXXVIII. This expedition, to return to my proper subject, was nominally said to be directed against Athens ; but its real object was the entire conquest of Greece. The Greeks were long prepared for this invasion, but they did not all think of it alike. They who had made their submission to

so remarkable as this before us, Herodotus should disdain to do this, does the highest credit to his candour and his wisdom. The passage, however, has greatly perplexed the most learned commentators, some thinking that the negative particle ought to be rejected, others the contrary. I would refer the curious reader to Valckenaer's note on the passage, which to me seems very satisfactory, and which I have of course adopted.—*T*.

* Thucydides relates the particulars of this affair. From his account no divine interposition seems necessary to explain what happened to Nicolaus and Aneristus : they were two of several who fell into the hands of the Athenians, who were then at variance with Sparta. In the beginning of the war the Lacedæmonians had put to death such as they captured by sea, and the Athenians thought themselves at liberty to retaliate. Thucydides says that Aristetas, one of the captives, was in a particular manner odious to the Athenians, as they imputed to him many calamities they had recently experienced ; but he says no such thing either of Nicolaus or Aneristus.—*T*.

the Persian did not conceive they had any thing to apprehend from the barbarian's presence, while they who had resisted his proposals were overwhelmed with terror and alarm. The united naval armament of Greece was far from able to contend with his power; and a great number of them discovered more inclination to go over to the Medes than to concur in the general defence.

CXXXIX. I feel myself impelled, in this place, to deliver an opinion, which, though it may appear invidious to most men, as it seems to me the fact, I shall not suppress. If the Athenians, through terror of the impending danger, had forsaken their country, or if they had stayed merely to have surrendered themselves to Xerxes, he would certainly have met with no resistance by sea: if he had remained, without contest, master of the sea, the following must have been the event of things on the continent:—although they of the Peloponnesus had fortified the isthmus by a number of walls, the Lacedæmonians must inevitably have been deserted by their allies, not so much from inclination, as from their being compelled to see their cities regularly taken and pillaged by the barbarian fleet. Thus left alone, after many efforts of valour, they would have encountered an honourable death. Either this must have been their lot, or, seeing the other Greeks forming alliances with the Medes, they themselves would have done the same: thus would Greece, either way, have been reduced under the Persian yoke. Of what advantage the walls along the isthmus could probably have been while the king remained master of the sea, I am unable to discover. Whoever, therefore, shall consider the Athenians as the deliverers of Greece, will not be far from the truth. The scale to which they inclined would necessarily preponderate. In their anxiety for preserving the liberties of their country, they animated the ardour of all that part of Greece which was before inclined

to resist the Medes. They, next to the gods, repelled the invader; nor did the Delphic oracles, alarming and terrific as they were, induce them to abandon Greece; but they waited to receive the invader.

CXL. The Athenians, desirous to know the will of the oracle, sent messengers to Delphi; who, after the customary ceremonies, entering the temple, were thus addressed in a prophetic spirit by the priestess, whose name was Aristonice:

“Unhappy men, to earth’s last limits go;
Forsake your homes, and city’s lofty brow,
For neither head nor bodies firm remain,
Nor hands assist you, nor can feet sustain:
All, all is lost, the fires spread wide around,
Mars in his Syrian car and arms is found;
Not ye alone his furious wrath may fear;
Their towers from many shall his vengeance tear.
And now from hallow’d shrines the flames ascend,
Black blood and sweat their fearful torrents blend.
Horror prevails! Ye victims of despair,
Depart, and for unheard-of ills prepare.”

CXLI. This reply filled the Athenian messengers with the deepest affliction: while they were reflecting on its melancholy import, Timon, son of Androbulus, one of the most illustrious citizens of Delphi, recommended them to assume the dress of supplicants, and a second time to consult the oracle. They followed his advice, and expressed their sentiments to the oracle in these terms: “O king! return us an answer more auspicious to our country: let our supplicatory dress and attitude incline you to compassion; otherwise we will not leave your sanctuary, but here remain till we die.” The second answer* of the priestess was to this effect:

“Of Jove, who rules Olympian heights above,
Not Pallas’ self the solemn will can move.

* This has generally been imputed to the interposition of Themistocles, who, as Plutarch informs us, despairing to influence his fellow-citizens by any human arguments, brought to his aid divine revelations, prodigies, and oracles, which he employed like machines in a theatre.

My awful words attend then once again,
 And firm they shall as adamant remain.
 When all is lost within Cecropian bounds,
 And where Cithæron's sacred bosom sounds,
 Jove to his loved Tritonian maid shall give
 A wall of wood, where you and yours shall live
 Your numerous foes' approach forbear to stay,
 But fly from horse, and foot, and arms away.
 Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
 The rising source of many a mother's joy :
 Thou shalt—though Ceres scatter o'er the plain,
 Or keep within disposed, her golden grain."

CXLII. The messengers, as reasonably they might, deeming this reply less severe than the former, wrote it down, and, returning to Athens, recited it to the people. Many different, and indeed entirely opposite opinions, were delivered concerning the meaning of the oracle ; some of the oldest men thought it intended to declare that the citadel, which formerly was surrounded by a palisade, should not be taken, to which palisade they referred the oracular expression of the wooden wall. Others thought that the deity, by a wooden wall, meant ships, which, therefore, omitting every thing else, it became them to provide. But they who inclined to this opinion were perplexed by the concluding words of the oracle :

"Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
 The rising source of many a mother's joy .
 Thou shalt—though Ceres scatter o'er the plain,
 Or keep within disposed, her golden grain ;"

for the interpreters of the oracle presumed that a defeat would be the consequence of a sea engagement near Salamis.

CXLIII. There was at Athens a man lately arrived at the first dignities of the state, whose name was Themistocles, the son of Neocles ; he would not allow the interpreters of the oracles to be entirely right : "If," said he, "that prediction had referred to the Athenians, the deity would not have used terms so gentle. The expression would surely have

been, 'O wretched Salamis!' and not 'immortal Salamis,' if the inhabitants had been doomed to perish in the vicinity of that island."* Every more sagacious person, he thought, must allow that the oracle threatened not the Athenians, but the enemy: he recommended them, therefore, to prepare for an engagement by sea, the only proper interpretation of the walls of wood. This opinion of Themistocles appeared to the Athenians more judicious than that of the interpreters, who were averse to a naval engagement, and who advised their countrymen to attempt no resistance, but to abandon Attica, and seek another residence.

CXLIV. Themistocles had, on a former occasion, given proofs of his superior sagacity: a considerable sum of money had been collected in the public treasury, the produce of the mines of Laurium. A proposal had been made, and approved, that this should be equally divided among the citizens of mature age, at the rate of ten drachmæ a head: Themistocles dissuaded† the Athenians from this measure, and prevailed on them to furnish out with it a

* The last-mentioned oracle is thus given by Glover in his *Athenaid*, b. i. 334.

"Ah, still my tongue like adamant is hard;
Minerva's tow'rs must perish: Jove severe
So wills, yet granting, at his daughter's suit,
Her people refuge under walls of wood;
But shun the myriads of terrific horse,
Which on your fields an eastern Mars shall bring."
She ceased: th' Athenian notes her answer down;
To one the most intrusted of his train
He gave the tablet: "Back to Athens fly,"
He said, "the son of Neocles alone,
By his unbounded faculties, can pierce
The hidden sense of these mysterious strains."

† Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, relates the same fact. It was doubtless a bold, though sagacious measure, and one of those which, as it happens to meet the temporary emotion of the people, occasions a man either to be torn in pieces as the betrayer, or venerated as the saviour of his country.—T.

fleet of two hundred vessels for the war with *Ægina*. It was this war, therefore, which operated to the safety of Greece, by obliging the Athenians to become sailors. This fleet was not applied to the purpose for which it was originally intended, but it opportunely served for the general benefit of Greece. The above ships being already prepared, the Athenians had only to increase their number: it was therefore determined in a general council, held after the declaration of the oracle, that they could not better testify their obedience to the divinity than by meeting at sea the barbarian invader of their country, in conjunction with those Greeks who chose to join their arms.—Such were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

CXLV. At this council all the other Greeks assisted who were animated with an ingenuous ardour with respect to their country. After a conference, in which they pledged themselves to be faithful to the common interest, it was first of all determined that their private resentments and hostilities should cease. At this period great disturbances existed, but more particularly between the people of Athens and *Ægina*. As soon as they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, at the head of his forces, the Athenians resolved to send some emissaries into Asia, to watch the motions of the king. It was also determined to send some persons to Argos, to form with that nation a confederacy against the Persian war: others were sent to Sicily, to Gelon, the son of Dinomenis: some to Corcyra and Crete, to solicit assistance for Greece. It was their view, if possible, to collect Greece into one united body, to counteract a calamity which menaced their common safety. The power of Gelon was then deemed of so much importance, as to be surpassed by no individual state of Greece.

CXLVI. When all these measures were agreed on, and their private animosities had ceased, their

first step was to send three spies* into Asia. These men, on their arrival at Sardis, were seized in the act of examining the royal army, and being tortured by the command of the generals of the land forces, were about to be put to death. When Xerxes heard of this, he expressed himself displeased with the proceedings of his officers, and, sending some of his guards, he commanded them to bring the spies to his presence, if they were not already dead: the guards arrived in time to preserve them, and they were conducted to the royal presence. Xerxes, after inquiring their business, directed his guards to lead the men round his army,† and show them all his forces, both horse and foot: when they had fully satisfied their curiosity, he suffered them to depart without molestation, wherever they thought proper. Xerxes was prompted to this conduct by the idea that, if the spies were put to death, the Greeks would be able to form no conception of his power, exceeding even the voice of fame: he imagined, also, that the loss of three individuals could prove of no serious detriment to the enemy. But he concluded that, by the return of these men to Greece, the Greeks, hearing of the preparations made against them, would not wait his arrival to make their submission; and that consequently he should be spared the trouble of marching against them.

* The treatment of spies is one of those things about which nations the most polished and the most barbarous have always thought and acted alike. To hang a spy the moment he is discovered, without any forms of judicial process, is warranted by universal consent, and seems justifiable on the common maxims of policy.

The refinement of modern times annexes a considerable degree of infamy to the employment and character of a spy; but the enterprise of Diomed and Ulysses, as recorded by Homer, seems to prove that this was not always the case.—*T.*

† A similar conduct was pursued by Caius Fabricius with regard to the spies of Pyrrhus.

CXLVII. On another occasion Xerxes appeared to reason in the same manner : when he was at Abydos he saw some vessels sailing over the Hellespont, which carried corn from the Pontus to Ægina and the Peloponnesus. When his attendants discovered them to be enemies, they prepared to pursue them, and looked earnestly on the king, as expecting his orders to do so. Xerxes inquired where these vessels were going : on being told to the enemy, and that they were laden with corn, " Well," he replied, " and are we not going to the same place, carrying with us corn among other necessities ! How, therefore, can these injure us, who are carrying provisions for our own use ! " The spies, after surveying all that they desired, returned to Europe.

CXLVIII. After their return, those Greeks who had associated to resist the Persian, sent messengers a second time to Argos. The Argives give this account of their own conduct :—they were acquainted, they say, at a very early period, with the barbarian's views on Greece ; and being aware, and indeed assured, that they would be called on by the Greeks for their assistance to oppose him, they sent to inquire of the oracle at Delphi what line of conduct they might most advantageously pursue. They had recently lost six thousand of their countrymen, who were slain by the Lacedæmonians, under the conduct of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides. The Pythian made them this reply :—

" You, whom your neighbours hate, while gods above,
Immortal gods, with truest kindness love,
Keep close within, and well your head defend,
Which to the limbs shall sure protection lend."

This was the answer given them by the Pythian before the arrival of the Grecian envoys. When these had delivered their commission to the senate of Argos, the Argives expressed themselves disposed to enter into a pacific treaty with the Lacedæmonians,

for a term of thirty years, on condition of having the command of half* of the troops; they thought that in justice they might claim the whole, but agreed to be satisfied with half.

CXLIX. This, according to their own account, was the answer of the Argive senate, in contradiction to the advice of the oracle not to join the Grecian confederacy. Their awe of the divinity did not prevent their urging with eagerness a treaty for thirty years, in which period their children, they presumed, would arrive at manhood; and they feared, if they refused to make a treaty, and their former misfortunes should be aggravated by any new calamity in the Persian war, they might be ultimately reduced under the Lacedæmonian yoke. To these proposals of the Argive senate the Spartan envoys replied, that with respect to the treaty, they would relate their determination to their countrymen; but as to the military command, they were authorized to make this decisive answer: that as they had two kings, and the Argives but one, the Spartans could not deprive either of their two† sovereigns of his privileges; but there was no reason why the Argive prince should not be vested with a joint and equal authority. Thus the Argives relate that they found themselves unable to submit to the Lacedæmonian insolence, choosing rather to be subject to the barbarians than to the tyranny of Sparta. They therefore informed the ambassadors, that if they did not

* Diodorus Siculus says that the Argives sent deputies to the general assembly, who, on asking for a share of the command, received an answer to this effect: that if they thought it harder to submit to the command of a Grecian than to have a barbarian master, they might as well stay as they were, in quiet: if they were ambitious to have the command of Greece, they must deserve it by their noble actions

† In book v. chap. lxxv., we are told expressly that the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both their kings to be at the same time present with the army; with which assertion the passage before us evidently militates.

quit their territories before sunset, they should be regarded as enemies.

CL. The above is the Argive account: another report, however, is prevalent in Greece:—Xerxes, it is said, before he commenced hostilities with Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who was instructed thus to address the people:—"Men of Argos, attend to the words of Xerxes:—we are of opinion that Perses, whom we acknowledge to be our ancestor, was the son of Perses, whose mother was Danaë, and of Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus: thus it appears that we derive our origin from you. It would, therefore, be unnatural either for us to carry on war with those from whom we are descended, or for you to make us your adversaries by giving your assistance to others. Remain, therefore, in tranquillity at home: if what I meditate prove successful, no nation shall receive from me greater honours than yours." This proposition appeared to the Argives of such serious importance, that they of themselves made no application to the Greeks; and when they were called on for their assistance, they claimed an equal command, merely with the view of remaining quiet, for they knew the Lacedæmonians would refuse it.

CLI. The above receives confirmation from a circumstance represented in Greece to have happened many years afterward. The Athenians on some occasion or other sent ambassadors to Susa, the city of Memnon, among whom was Callias, the son of Hipponicus: at the same place and time, some Argives were present to inquire of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, whether the friendship they had formed with his father Xerxes continued still in force, or whether he regarded them as enemies. Artaxerxes replied, that it certainly did continue, and that no city had a greater share of his regard than Argos.

CLII. In relating the above, I neither speak from my own knowledge, nor give any opinion, having no

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other authority but that of the Argives themselves for saying that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos, or that the Argive ambassadors at Susa interrogated Artaxerxes concerning his friendship for their country. This, however, I know, that if all men were to produce in one place* their faults, in order to exchange them for those of their neighbours, the result would be, that after due examination, each would willingly return with what he brought. The conduct of the Argives, according to this representation, was not the basest possible. But it is incumbent on me to record the different opinions of men, though I am not obliged indiscriminately to credit them; and let this my opinion be applied to the whole of my history. It is, then, also asserted, that the Argives first invited the Persians to invade Greece, imagining, after the losses they had sustained from the Lacedæmonians, that they could experience no change for the worse.

CLIII. With the view of forming a treaty with Gelon, there arrived in Sicily different ambassadors from the several allies, and Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon was a citizen of Gela, of the Island of Telo, opposite Triopium: when the Lindians of Rhodes,† and

* This passage is obscure. The meaning of Herodotus seems to be, that if we take the representation of the Argives, their guilt was not considerable, according to the favourable eye with which all men view their own faults. "I know," says he, "that all men would rather keep their own faults than take those of others."

A similar sentiment to this is well expressed by Lord Chesterfield, in a paper of the World.

"If sometimes our common parent has been a little partial, and not kept the scales quite even; if one preponderates too much, we throw into the lighter a due counterpoise of vanity, which never fails to set all right. Hence it happens that hardly any man would, without reserve, and in every particular, change with any other."—T.

† The Rhodians succeeded the Cretans in the dominion of the sea: they styled themselves sons of the sea. Florus calls them

Antiphemus, built Gela, he accompanied them. His posterity, in process of time, became the ministers of the infernal deities,* which honour Telines, one of their ancestors, thus obtained: some men of Gela, who in a public tumult had been worsted, took refuge at Mactorium, a city beyond Gela. Telines brought back these to their allegiance without any

nauticus populus.—See Meursius, where we find that Rhodes was styled *Mari enata*, because it emerged by the decrease of the sea. They applied themselves with great success to maritime affairs, and became famous for building ships: they took so much care to keep the art to themselves, that it was criminal not only to enter, but even to look at their docks. The high esteem and credit which Rhodes obtained is apparent from the succours which the neighbouring states sent her when almost destroyed by an earthquake.—See Polybius. In Polybius the reader may find an account of the wisdom of her politics: one part I cannot omit, namely, the just value they set on their poor, and their importance to the state, and of the care they took of them. They established many rules for their maintenance, and made ample provision for them all, wisely concluding, that the better they were used, the more obedient and peaceable they would be, and always ready to attend the summons of the public, in recruiting and manning their fleets. With the terror of these they long maintained the sovereignty of the seas, extending their dominion even to Pharos, near Egypt, till Cleopatra, by subtlety, shook off their yoke. The inhabitants of Pharos complaining of the heavy tribute they annually paid, as many other islands did, to the Rhodians, she ordered a mole to be thrown up to join Pharos to the continent, which was surprisingly executed within seven days, and thence called *Eptastadium*. Soon after this, the Rhodian officers being arrived at Pharos for the payment of the tribute, the queen, riding on horseback over the new causeway to Pharos, told the Rhodians they did not know their own business; that the tribute was not to be paid by the people of the continent, and Pharos was no longer an island. Let me add, that the inhabitants of Rhodes long maintained their credit in maritime affairs, gave their assistance to the unfortunate, curbed and restrained the oppressor, and, by the institution of the Knights of Jerusalem, in 1308, enlisted themselves in defence of Christianity against the encroachments of the infidels, and gallantly defended their island against the Ottoman forces for the space of two hundred years.

—T.

* Ceres and Proserpine.

other aid than the things sacred to the above deities; but where or in what manner he obtained them, I am unable to explain. It was by their aid that he effected the return of the citizens of Gela, having previously stipulated that his descendants should be the ministers of the above-mentioned deities. That Telines should undertake and accomplish so difficult an enterprise, seems to me particularly surprising: it was certainly beyond the abilities of any ordinary individual, and could only have been executed by a man of very superior qualities. He is, nevertheless, reported by the people of Sicily to have been a person of different character; that is to say, of a delicate and effeminate nature. Thus, however, he attained his dignities.

CLIV. Cleander, the son of Pantareus, after possessing for seven years the sovereignty of Gela, was assassinated by Sabyllus, a citizen of the place, and succeeded in his authority by his brother Hippocrates. During his reign, Gelon, one of the posterity of Telines, of whom indeed there were many others, and particularly Ænesidemus, son of Pataicus, of the body-guard of Hippocrates, was soon, on account of his military virtue, promoted to the rank of general of the cavalry. He had eminently distinguished himself in the several different wars which Hippocrates had prosecuted against the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the people of Zancle and Leontium, not to mention those of Syracuse, and many barbarous nations. Of all these cities which I have enumerated, that of Syracuse alone escaped the yoke of Hippocrates. The Syracusans, indeed, had sustained a signal defeat near the river Elorus, but the Corinthians and Corcyræans had supported and delivered them on the express condition that they should give up to Hippocrates the city of Camarine, which they possessed from the remotest antiquity.

CLV. Hippocrates, after reigning the same period

as his brother Cleander, lost his life before the town of Hybla,* in a war against the Sicilians. Gelon, after having conquered his fellow-citizens in a fixed battle, under pretence of defending the rights of Euclid and Cleander, sons of Hippocrates, whose accession to their father's dignity was resisted, obtained the supreme authority of Gela, to the exclusion of the lawful heirs. He afterward obtained possession of Syracuse, taking the opportunity of restoring to their country from Casmene those of the Syracusans called Gamori, who had been expelled by the common people, in conjunction with their own slaves the Cyllyrians. The Syracusans, on his approach, made their submission, and delivered up their city.

CLVI. When Gelon became master of Syracuse, he made light of Gela, his former possession, and consigned it to the care of his brother Hiero. Syracuse, which now was every thing to him, became soon a great and powerful city. Gelon removed all its inhabitants from Camarine, whom he made citizens of Syracuse, after overturning their city. He did the same with respect to more than half of the people of Gela. He besieged also the people of Sicilian Megara: on their surrender, the most wealthy among them, who, on account of their activity against him, expected no mercy, were removed to Syracuse, and permitted to enjoy the privileges of citizens.

* There were in Sicily three cities of this name, the greater, the middle, and the little Hybla. The first of these is now called Paterno, and is at the foot of Etna; the second is the modern Ragusa; the third is Megara. It was before the second Hybla that Hippocrates died. Hybla was also the name of a mountain in Sicily, which abounded in thyme, and was celebrated for its bees: it has been sufficiently notorious in poetic description.

I am conscious that, with respect to geographical descriptions, I have on all occasions been concise, and some of my readers may, perhaps, think to a fault. In answer to this I can only observe, that the geography of Herodotus might be reasonably expected to employ a separate volume.—T.

The common people of Megara, who, not having been instruments of the war, thought they had nothing to apprehend, after being conducted to Syracuse, were sold as slaves, to be carried out of Sicily. The people of Eubœa in Sicily were in like manner separated, and experienced the same treatment. His motive in both these instances was his fear and dislike of the common people : thus he rendered himself a most powerful prince.

CLVII. When the Grecian ambassadors arrived at Syracuse, and obtained an audience of the king, they addressed him to this effect : " The Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and their common allies, have deputed us to solicit your assistance against the barbarian. You must have heard of his intended invasion of our country ; that he has thrown bridges over the Hellespont, and, bringing with him all the powers of Asia, is about to burst on Greece. He pretends that his hostilities are directed against Athens alone ; but his real object is the entire subjection of Greece. We call on you, therefore, whose power is so great, and whose Sicilian dominions constitute so material a portion of Greece, to assist us in the vindication of our common liberty. Greece united will form a power formidable enough to resist our invaders ; but, if some of our countrymen betray us, and others withhold their assistance, the defenders of Greece will be reduced to an insignificant number, and our universal ruin may be expected to ensue. Do not imagine that the Persian, after vanquishing us, will not come to you : it becomes you, therefore, to take every necessary precaution ; by assisting us, you render your own situation secure. An enterprise concerted with wisdom seldom fails of success."

CLVIII. The reply of Gelon was thus vehement : " Your address to me, O men of Greece !" said he, " is insolent in the extreme. How can you presume to solicit my aid against the barbarian, who, when I

formerly asked you for assistance against the Carthaginians, and to revenge on the people of Ægesta the death of Dorieus, the son of Anaxandrides, offering, in return, to make those commercial places free, from whence great advantages would have been derived to you, on both occasions refused to succour me ! That all this region, therefore, is not in subjection to the barbarians, has not depended on you ; the event, however, has been fortunate to me. But, on the approach of war, and your own immediate danger, you have recourse to Gelon. I shall not imitate your contemptuous conduct : I am ready to send to your aid two hundred triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed troops, two thousand horse, and as many archers, two thousand slingers, and an equal number of light-armed cavalry. It shall be my care, also, to provide corn* for all the forces of Greece during the continuance of the war. But I make these offers on the condition of being appointed to the supreme command, otherwise I will neither come myself nor furnish supplies."

CLIX. Syagrus, unable to contain himself, exclaimed aloud : "How would Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops, lament, if he could know that the Spartans suffered themselves to be commanded by Gelon, and the people of Syracuse ! On this subject I will hear you no farther : if you have any intention of assisting Greece, you must submit to be

* The fertility of Sicily, with respect to its corn, has from the most remote times been memorable. In the most flourishing times of Rome it was called the granary of the republic. Modern travellers agree in representing Sicily as eminently abundant in its crops of corn.

There is a fragment of Antiphanes preserved in Athenæus, which may thus be translated :

"A cook from Elis, a caldron from Argos, wine of Phlius, tapestry of Corinth, fish from Sicyon, pipers from Ægium, *cheese from Sicily*, the perfumes of Athens, and eels of Bœotia."

So that cheese, also, was among the numerous delicacies which Sicily supplied.—T.

subordinate to the Lacedæmonians: if you refuse this, we decline your aid."

CLX. When Gelon perceived the particular aversion of Syagrus to his proposals, he delivered himself a second time as follows: "Stranger of Sparta, when injuries are offered to an exalted character, they seldom fail of exciting his resentment: yet your conduct, insulting as it is, shall not induce me to transgress against decency. If you are tenacious of the supreme authority, I may be reasonably more so, who am master of more forces, and a greater number of ships: but, as you find a difficulty in acceding to my terms, I will remit somewhat of my claims. If you command the land forces, I will have the conduct of the fleet; or, if you will direct the latter, I will command the former. You must be satisfied with the one of these conditions, or be content to depart without my powerful assistance."* Such were the propositions of Gelon.

CLXI. The Athenian envoy, anticipating the Lacedæmonian, answered him thus: "King of Syracuse, Greece has sent us to you, not wanting a leader, but a supply of forces. Such is your ambition, that unless you are suffered to command, you will not assist us. When you first intimated your wish to have the supreme command of our united forces, we Athenians listened in silence, well knowing that our Lacedæmonian ally would return you an answer applicable to us both. As soon as you gave up this claim, and were satisfied with requiring the command of the fleet alone, I then thought it

* Ælian, in his *Various History*, book ix. ch. 5, relates this anecdote of Hiero and Themistocles:—

When Hiero appeared at the olympic games, and would have engaged with his horses in the race, Themistocles prevented him, saying, that he who would not engage in the common danger ought not to have a share in the common festival.

The chronology of this fact is adduced by Bentley, as a convincing argument against the genuineness of the epistles imputed to Themistocles.—See Bentley on Phalaris, p. 395.—T.

became me to answer you. Know then, that if the Spartan ambassador would grant you this, we would not: if the Lacedæmonians refuse the conduct of the fleet, it devolves of course to us: we would not dispute it with them, but we would yield it to nobody else. It would little avail us to possess the greater part of the maritime forces of Greece if we could suffer the Syracusans to command them. The Athenians are the most ancient people of Greece,* and we alone have never changed our country: from us was descended that hero who, according to Ho-

* The Athenians, in support of their antiquity, assumed many romantic appellations, calling themselves the sons of the earth, children of clay.—See Hesychius. Opposing also these appellations to the fiction of the Egyptians concerning the generation of man from the slime and mud of the river Nile, they afterward, as an emblem of their own fortuitous generation, wore the *cicada*, or harvest-flies, commonly translated grasshoppers, in their hair. Their comic poet, who on no occasion spared his countrymen, makes of this their emblem a happy but sarcastic use, telling them that the cicada, which they pretended to be a symbol of themselves, did really exhibit their faithful picture, with this only difference, that whereas the cicada only sung on the boughs for a month or two, they sung away their whole lives in hearing causes (see Athenæus, p. 540), sauntering through the streets to pick up the loose grain which fell from the industrious farmer, to find out a place where they had nothing to do. This claim, however, of the Athenians to antiquity was opposed by the Arcadians, who boasted that they existed before the moon; and, to keep up this pretence, they wore *lunulas* or moons in their shoes, as the Athenians wore the cicada in their hair; they therefore called themselves *prosclenoi*; and Strabo, in his eighth book, owns their plea, asserting that the Arcadians were the oldest of all the Grecians.—I cannot help thinking that the Arcadians were called Silen before they disputed with the Athenians on the subject of antiquity. A principal part of their possessions in Asia was called Salorum, and the cheese there made, *caseus Salornites*, words not unlike to Silenus and Selenites. The name also is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan, the Arcadian deity. Silenus, as the Greek language prevailed, might afterward be changed into *Selenus* or *Selenita*, from the word *Selene*, then better understood, or on purpose to maintain the contest of antiquity, and to account for calling themselves *Proscleeni*.—T.

mer, of all those who marched against Troy, was the most expert in the arrangement and discipline of an army. We relate these things with a becoming sense of our own importance."

CLXII. "Man of Athens!" answered Gelon, "it does not appear that you want commanders, but troops. Since, therefore, you would obtain every thing, and concede nothing, hasten your departure, and inform Greece that their year will be without its spring." The meaning of this expression was, that as the spring was the most desirable season of the year, so were his forces with respect to those of Greece: Greece, therefore, destitute of his alliance, would be as a year without its spring.

CXLIII. The Grecian ambassadors, after receiving this answer from Gelon, sailed back again. Gelon afterward, apprehending that the Greeks must fall before the barbarian power, and still disdaining, as monarch of Sicily, to be subordinate to the Spartans in the Peloponnesus, adopted the following measure:—as soon as he heard that the Persian had passed the Hellespont, he sent three fifty-oared vessels to Delphi, under the conduct of Cadmus, the son of Scythes, of the Isle of Cos: he had with him a large sum of money, and a commission of a pacific tendency. They were to observe the issue of the contest: if the barbarian proved victorious, they were to give him earth and water, in token of the submission of those places of which Gelon was prince: if victory fell to the Greeks, they were to return home.

CLXIV. This Cadmus had received from his father the sovereignty of Cos; and though his situation was free from every species of inquietude, he resigned his authority from the mere love of justice, and retired to Sicily. Here, in conjunction with the Samians, he inhabited Zancle, the name of which place was afterward changed to Messina. This man Gelon selected, being convinced, from his pre-

vious conduct, of his inviolable attachment to justice. Among the other instances of rectitude which he exhibited, the following is not the least worthy of admiration: if he had thought proper, he might have converted to his own use the wealth with which Gelon intrusted him; but, after the victory of the Greeks, and the consequent departure of Xerxes, he carried all these riches back again to Sicily.

CLXV. The Sicilians affirm that Gelon would still have assisted the Greeks, and submitted to serve under the Lacedæmonians, if Terillus, the son of Crinippus, who had been expelled from Himera, where he had exercised the sovereignty, by Theron, son of Ænesidemus, had not at this time brought an army against him. This army was composed of Phœnicians, Africans, Iberians, Ligurians, Helisycians, Sardinians, and Cymnians, under the command of Amilcar, son of Anno, King of Carthage, to the amount of three hundred thousand men. This person Terillus had conciliated, partly from the rites of private hospitality, but principally by the interposition of Anaxilaus, son of Creteineus, King of Rhegium, who had given his children as hostages to Amilcar to induce him to come to Sicily, and revenge the cause of his father-in-law. Anaxilaus had married a daughter of Terillus, whose name was Cydippe: Gelon, from these circumstances, being unable to assist the Greeks, sent, as we have described, a sum of money to Delphi.

CLXVI. It is related on the same authority, that Gelon and Theron conquered the Carthaginian Amilcar in Sicily on the same day which was remarkable for the victory of the Greeks at Salamis. The father of Amilcar, they assert, was a Carthaginian, his mother a native of Syracuse: he had been elevated to the throne of Carthage for his personal virtues. After being vanquished, as we have described, he disappeared, and was never seen after-

ward, dead or alive, though Gelon* with the most diligent care endeavoured to discover him.

CLXVII. The Carthaginians assert, and with some probability, that during the contest of the Greeks and barbarians in Sicily, which, as is reported, continued from morning till the approach of night, Amilcar remained in his camp: here he offered sacrifice to the gods, consuming on one large pile the entire bodies of numerous victims.† As soon as he perceived the retreat of his party, while he was in the act of pouring a libation, he threw himself into the flames, and for ever disappeared. Whether, according to the Phœnicians, he vanished in this, or, as the Carthaginians allege, in some other manner, this last people, in all their colonies, and particularly in Carthage, erected monuments in his honour, and sacrifice to him as a divinity. Enough, perhaps, has been said on the affairs of Sicily.

CLXVIII. The conduct of the Corcyræans did not correspond with their professions. The same emissaries who visited Sicily went also to Corcyra, the people of which place they addressed in the terms they had used to Gelon. To these they received a promise of immediate and powerful assistance; they added, that they could by no means be indifferent spectators of the ruin of Greece, and they felt themselves impelled to give their aid, from the conviction that the next step to the conquest of Greece would be their servitude; they would therefore assist to the utmost. Such was the flattering answer they returned. But, when they ought to have fulfilled their engagements, having very different views, they fitted out a fleet of sixty vessels: these were put to

* If Polyænus may be believed, Gelon very well knew the fate of Amilcar. Not daring to face him openly in the field, he destroyed him by a paltry stratagem, when in the act of offering sacrifice.—*T*.

† We find Cressus, in a preceding book, offering up three thousand chosen victims.—*T*.

sea, though not without difficulty, and sailing towards the Peloponnesus, they stationed themselves near Pylos and Tænaros, off the coast of Sparta. Here they awaited the issue of the contest, never imagining that the Greeks would prove victorious, but taking it for granted that the vast power of the Persian would reduce the whole of Greece. They acted in this manner to justify themselves, in addressing the Persian monarch to this effect: "The Greeks, O king! have solicited our assistance, who, after the Athenians, are second to none in the number as well as strength of our ships; but we did not wish to oppose your designs, or to do any thing hostile to your wishes." By this language they hoped to obtain more favourable conditions; in which they do not to me appear to have been at all unreasonable: they had previously concerted their excuse to the Greeks. When the Greeks reproached them for withholding the promised succour, they replied that they had absolutely fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes; but that the northeast winds would not suffer them to pass the promontory of Malea; and that it was this accident alone, not any want of zeal, which prevented their arrival at Salamis till after the battle. It was thus they attempted to delude the Greeks.

CLXIX. The Cretans being, in like manner, solicited by the Grecian envoys to assist the common cause, determined to consult the oracle at Delphi about the expediency of such a measure:—"Inconsiderate as you are," replied the priestess, "has not Minos given you sufficient cause to regret the part you took with respect to Menelaus? The Greeks refused to revenge the murder of Minos* at Cami-

* The Cretans had sent some forces to the Trojan war, under the conduct of Idomeneus and Merion. Idomeneus was a descendant of Minos, and at his death the government of the family of Minos ceased. Minos expelled from Crete the Rhadamantes:—see the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, cited by Meursius, p.

cus, though you assisted them to punish the rape of a Spartan woman by a barbarian." This answer induced the Cretans to refuse their assistance.

CLXX. It is said that Minos, coming to Sicania, now called Sicily, in search of Dædalus,* perished

120. Those who settled with Minos at Crete are the first whom the Grecian history records for their power and dominion at sea: he extended his jurisdiction to the coasts of Caria on the one hand, and to the cities of Greece on the other; using his power with moderation and justice, and employing it against those lawless rovers and pirates who infested the neighbouring islands, and in the protection and support of the injured and distressed. If he be represented in worse colours by some authors, the painting is the hand of one who copied from those whose rapine and oppression had provoked and felt his resentment. Minos was no less renowned for his arms abroad, than for his policy and good government at home: he is said to have framed a body of laws, under the direction of Jupiter, for his subjects of Crete; and, though this may have the air of a romance, invented, as such reports were, to give the better sanction to his laws, yet it is confessed, says Strabo, that Crete in ancient times was so well governed, that the best states of Greece, especially the Spartan, did not disdain to transcribe many of its laws, and to form the plan of their government according to this model. Lycurgus retired into Crete, and transcribed its laws.—*Meursius*, p. 162; they related principally to military points. A. Gellius records one instance of this agreement of the military sort, in giving the onset to battle, l. i. c. 11: there are many others in *Meursius*. Besides Plato and Ephorus, mentioned by Strabo, we may add Xenophon and Polybius, bearing their witness to what I have above said of the ancient Cretans' character. As it was gained by, so it fell with, the descendants of Minos; for, when the Carians had expelled the former, and were become masters of the island, as Diodorus Siculus supposes that they did soon after the Trojan war (book v. at the end), Crete became a den of tyrants and a nest of pirates, as infamous for their thefts and injustice as the Eteocretans had been famous for their opposite virtues.—*T*.

* Diodorus Siculus gives the following account of Dædalus, book iv. c. 76.

Dædalus was an Athenian, of the family of Eretheus: he was eminently skilful as an architect, as a statuary, and engraver. He had arrived at so great excellence, that his posterity boasted of his figures that they appeared to see and to move like human beings. He was the first who formed eyes to his figures, and

by a violent death.* Not long afterward, actuated as it were by some divine impulse, all the Cretans in a body, except the Polichnites and the Præsiens, passed over with a great fleet to Sicania, and for five years laid close siege to Camicus, inhabited even to my time by the Agrigentines. Unable either to take the place or continue the siege, they were compelled by famine to retire : a furious tempest attacked them off the coast of Iapygia, and drove them ashore. As their vessels were destroyed, and they

represented the limbs and arms correctly and distinctly. Before his time artists made the eyes of their figures closed, the hands suspended close to the sides. His nephew Talos was his pupil, whose ingenuity so excited his envy and jealousy that he killed him : for this he was condemned to death by the areopagus, but flying to Crete, his talents procured him great reputation, and the friendship of Minos. This he forfeited from using his art to gratify the preposterous passion of Pasiphaë, the wife of Minos ; whence the story of the birth of the Minotaur. He consequently fled from hence with his son Icarus, who gave his name to the sea where he perished. Dædalus went to Sicily, where he was received and entertained by Cocalus. Minos pursued him with a numerous fleet : he landed in the territory of Agrigentum, and sent to Cocalus to demand Dædalus. Cocalus invited him to a conference, promised to give Dædalus up, and offered him the rites of hospitality ; after which he suffocated Minos in a hot bath.

It has been disputed whether, with the assistance of Dædalus, Minos was not the inventor of the labyrinth. The credit of the invention is by Pliny assigned to the Egyptian. Ovid very prettily compares the winding of the Cretan labyrinth to the course of the Meander.—*T.*

* Zenobius affirms, that while he was at the bath, the daughters of Cocalus killed him by pouring boiling pitch on him. Diodorus Siculus says that Cocalus, having permitted him to do what he wished, and offering him the rites of hospitality, suffocated him in a bath, of which the water was too hot. Pausanias says nothing of the kind of death which Minos died : he satisfied himself with saying that the daughters of Cocalus were so pleased with Dædalus, on account of his ingenuity, that, to oblige him, they resolved to destroy Minos. The violent death of this prince caused Sophocles to write a tragedy, called *Minos*, as appears from Clemens Alexandrinus, or Camicoi, as we find in Athenæus.—*Larcher.*

were unable to return to Crete, they remained there, and built the town of Hyria. Instead of Cretans, they took the name of Messapian Iapyges, and from being islanders, they became inhabitants of the continent. From Hyria they sent out several colonies : with these the Tarentines, being afterward engaged in the most destructive hostilities, received the severest defeat we ever remember to have heard related. The Tarentines were not on this occasion the only sufferers ; the people of Rhegium, who had been instigated by Micythus, son of Chærus, to assist the Tarentines, sustained the loss of three thousand men : the particular loss of the Tarentines has not been recorded. Micythus had been one of the domestics of Anaxilaus, and had been left to take care of Rhegium : being driven thence, he resided afterward at Tegea in Arcadia, and consecrated a great number of statues* in Olympia.

CLXXI. My remarks concerning the people of Rhegium and Tarentum have interrupted the thread of my narration. Crete being thus left without inhabitants, the Præsiens say that various emigrants resorted there, of whom the greater number were Greeks. In the third age after the death of Minos happened the Trojan war, in which the Cretans were no contemptible allies to Menelaus. On their return from Troy, and, as some have asserted, as a punishment for the part they had taken, a severe pestilence and famine destroyed them and their cattle : they who survived were joined by others who migrated to them ; and thus was Crete a third time peopled. By recalling these incidents to their remembrance,

* These are specified in Pausanias : they consisted of the statues of Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, by the hand of Glaucus, an Argive : there were also Proserpine, Venus, Ganymede, Diana, Homer, and Hesiod ; next these were Æsculapius and Hygeia, with Agon. These with many others were given by Micythus, in consequence of a vow made on account of his son, who was afflicted with a dangerous disease.—*T.*

the Pythian checked their inclination to assist the Greeks.

CLXXII. The Thessalians were from the beginning compelled to take the part of the Medes, taking care to show their dislike of the conduct of the Aleuadæ. As soon as they heard that the Persian had passed over into Europe, they sent deputies to the isthmus, where were assembled the public counsellors of Greece, deputed from those states which were most zealous to defend their country. On their arrival, the Thessalian deputies thus spake: "Men of Greece, it will be necessary to defend the Olympic straits, for the common security of Thessaly and of all Greece. We, on our parts, are ready to assist in this; but you must also send a considerable body of forces, which, if you omit to do, we shall undoubtedly make our terms with the Persians. It cannot be just that we, who, from our situation, are more immediately exposed to danger, should perish alone on your account. If you refuse to assist us, you cannot expect us to exert ourselves for you. Our inability to resist will justify our conduct, and we shall endeavour to provide for our own security."

CLXXIII. The Greeks in consequence determined to send a body of infantry by sea to defend these straits. As soon as their forces were ready, they passed the Euripus. Arriving at Alus, in Achaia, they disembarked, and proceeded towards Thessaly. They advanced to Tempe, to the passage which connects the lower parts of Macedonia with Thessaly, near the river Peneus, between Olympus and Ossa; here they encamped, to the number of ten thousand heavy-armed troops, and they were joined by the Thessalian horse. The Lacedæmonians were led by Euænetus, son of Carenus, one of the polemarchs,* though not of the blood-royal. Themis-

* The polemarch seems to have had separate and distinct duties in peace and in war; in peace, as I have elsewhere ob-

tocles, son of Neocles, commanded the Athenians. Here they remained but a few days; for Alexander, son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, sent to them, recommending their retreat, from their total inability to make any resistance against the land and sea forces of the enemy, whose numbers he explained. The Greeks, thinking the advice reasonable, and the Macedonian amicable towards them, regulated their conduct by it. I am rather inclined to impute the part they acted to their fears, being informed that there was another passage into Thessaly, through the country of Perrhæbi, in the higher region of Macedonia, near the city of Gonnos, and through this the army of Xerxes did actually pass. The Greeks retired to their ships, and returned to the isthmus.

CLXXIV. This expedition to Thessaly was undertaken when the king was preparing to pass into Europe, and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, forsaken by their allies, lost no time in treating with the Medes: they entered warmly into the king's affairs, and proved themselves remarkably useful.

CLXXV. The Greeks, after their return to the isthmus, in consequence of the advice of Alexander, called a council to deliberate how and where they should commence hostilities. It was ultimately determined to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, as being not only narrower than those of Thessaly, but also within a less distance. Of that other avenue by which the Greeks at Thermopylæ were surprised, they had not the smallest knowledge, till, having arrived there, they were shown it by the

served, it was his business to superintend the strangers resident in Sparta, as well as to see to the maintenance of the children of those who died in the public service.

In war he seems to have been a kind of aid-de-camp to the king, and to have communicated his orders to the troops. We may presume, from what Herodotus says in the conclusion of the paragraph, that the polemarchs were generally of the blood-royal.—T

Trachinians. To prevent the approach of the barbarians to Greece, they undertook to guard this passage: their fleet they resolved to send to Artemisium on the coast of Histiaëotis. These places are so contiguous, that a communication between the two armaments was extremely easy.

CLXXVI. The above places may be thus described:—Artemisium, beginning from the Thracian Sea, gradually contracts itself into a narrow strait between the Island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. At the straits of Eubœa Artemisium meets the coast, on which is the temple of Diana. The entrance into Greece by the way of Trachis is in its narrowest part half a plethrum: compared with the rest of the country, the part most contracted lies before and behind Thermopylæ: behind, near the Alpeni, there is room only for a single carriage: before, near the river Phœnix, by the town of Anthela, the dimensions of the passage are the same. To the west of Thermopylæ is a steep and inaccessible mountain, which extends as far as Ceta; to the east it is bounded by the shoals and by the sea. In these straits there are warm baths, which the natives call Chytri, near which is an altar sacred to Hercules. The place was formerly defended by a wall and by gates: the wall was built by the Phœceans through fear of the Thessalians, who came from Thesprotia to establish themselves in Æolia, where they now reside. The Thessalians endeavouring to expel them, the Phœceans erected the wall to protect them; and, to make the place marshy and impassable, they suffered the above-mentioned warm springs to empty themselves, using every expedient to prevent the incursions of the Thessalians. The wall had in a great measure mouldered away from length of time: it was repaired, because it was here determined to repel the barbarian from Greece. In the vicinity is a place called Alpeni, which the Greeks made a repository for their provisions.

CLXXVII. The Greeks, from every consideration, deemed this place the most eligible. After much cautious inspection and deliberation, they concluded that the barbarians could not here avail themselves either of their numbers or their cavalry; here, therefore, they determined to receive the disturber of their country. As soon as they were informed of his arrival in Pieria they left the isthmus; the land forces proceeding to Thermopylæ, the fleet to Artemisium.

CLXXVIII. While the Greeks, according to the resolutions of their council, resorted to their several stations, the Delphians, anxious for themselves and for Greece, consulted the oracle. They were directed, in reply, to address themselves to the winds; for they would prove the best allies of Greece. The Delphians lost no time in communicating this answer to those of the Greeks who were zealous for their liberty; and who, greatly dreading the barbarian, thought it deserved their everlasting gratitude. An altar was immediately erected, and sacrifice offered to the winds in Thyia, where is a temple in honour of Thyia, daughter of Cephissus, from whom the place has its name. In consequence of the above oracle, the Delphians to this day supplicate the winds.

CLXXIX. The fleet of Xerxes, moving from Therma, despatched ten of their swiftest sailing vessels to Sciathus, where were three guard-ships of the Greeks, of Trœzene, Ægina, and Athens. These, on sight of the barbarian vessels, immediately fled.

CLXXX. The barbarians, after a pursuit, took the Trœzenian vessel commanded by Praxinus. The most valiant of their crew they sacrificed on the prow of their ship, thinking it a favourable omen that their first Greek capture was of no mean distinction. The name of the man they slew was Leon; and to his name, perhaps, he owed his fate.

CLXXXI. The vessel of Ægina occasioned the enemy more trouble ; it was commanded by Asonides, and among his warriors was Pythes, son of Ischenous, who on that day greatly distinguished himself. When his ship was taken, he persevered in his resistance till he was cut in pieces : at length he fell ; but, as he discovered some signs of life, the Persians, in admiration of his valour, made every possible effort to preserve him, bathing his wounds with myrrh, and applying to them bandages of cotton.* On their return to their camp, they exhibited him to the whole army as a man deserving

* I have proved in another place that byssus was cotton. A very learned man has objected to me, that as the tree which produces cotton was not cultivated in Egypt in the time of Prosper Alpinus, except in gardens, it must necessarily, in the time of Herodotus, have been still more uncommon ; which induces him to believe, with Father Hardouin, that it is a species of fine linen. This does not to me seem conclusive. It may be reasonably supposed that the floods may in a great degree have destroyed that plant, and particularly since Egypt is become barbarous (devenue barbare). This may be one cause of its scarcity in the time of Prosper Alpinus, and does not prove to me that it was scarce in the time of Herodotus, or even before his time. According to my interpretation, the Persians bound the wounds of Pythes with cotton : we in similar cases use lint : but the Egyptians at this day use lint of cotton for wounds and sores.—*Larcher*.

I do not know whether what I have to offer in contradiction to M. Larcher's opinion on this subject may be thought satisfactory ; but I think that it merits the attention of the English reader. I have before observed that the finest linen of Egypt was of a very coarse nature, of whatever it was composed ; and I find in Ezekiel xxvii. 7, the following verse :

“ Fine linen, with brodered work from Egypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail ; blue and purple from the isles of Elisha was that which covered thee.”

That *βυσσος* is properly expressed by the word linen, I believe ; but why it should be rendered fine linen, I am at a loss to imagine. We are expressly told that it was used for sail-cloth, and was probably of a substance equally coarse with that mentioned by Virgil :

Usum in castrorum aut miseris velamina nautis.—*T*.

universal esteem, while they treated the rest of the crew as vile slaves.

CLXXXII. Two of the vessels being thus taken, the third, commanded by Phormus, an Athenian, in its endeavour to escape, went ashore at the mouth of the Peneus. The barbarians took the ship, but not its crew. The Athenians got on shore, and, proceeding through Thessaly, arrived safe at Athens. The Greeks stationed at Artemisium were made acquainted with the above event by signals of fire from Sciathus. They instantly retired in alarm to Chalcis, with the view of guarding the Euripus. They did not, however, omit to place daily sentinels on the heights of Eubœa.

CLXXXIII. Three of ten barbarian vessels sailed to the rock called Myrmex, between Sciathus and Magnesia. Here they erected a column, with stones which they brought with them for that purpose. They spent eleven days on this cruise, after the king's departure from Therma, being conducted safe with respect to this rock by Pammos the Scyrian. Sailing from the above place, they in one day passed along the coast of Magnesia to Sepias, on the shore which lies between the town of Casthanæa and the coast of Sepias.

CLXXXIV. Thus far, and to Thermopylæ, the army of Xerxes met with no misfortune. The number of vessels which left Asia amounted, if my conjectures have not deceived me, to twelve hundred and seven. The complement of the crews by which they were originally manned was two hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred, composed of the different auxiliaries, and allowing two hundred men to each vessel: to these, independent of their own proper crews, are to be added thirty of either Persians, Medes, or Sacæ. The whole number of these last was thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten: to the above are also to be added those who were on board the vessels of fifty oars, to which we may

allow at the rate of eighty men to each. The whole number, therefore, of these, will be found to have been three thousand, and of the men two hundred and forty thousand. Thus the fleet which left Asia was composed of five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. The infantry consisted of seventeen hundred thousand men; the number of the cavalry was eighty thousand. The Arabians with their camels, and the Africans in their chariots, were twenty thousand more. The above was the armament which left Asia; to make no mention of the menial attendants, the transports which carried the provisions, and their crews.

CLXXXV. To these are still to be added all those troops which were brought from Europe, of the precise number of which we can only speak from opinion. The Greeks of Thrace, and of the islands contiguous, furnished one hundred and twenty vessels, the crews of which amounted to twenty-four thousand men: a body of land forces was also provided by the Thracians, Pæonians, the Eordi, Bottiæans, Chalcidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhæbians, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achæans, and the other people who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace. The amount of all these was, I believe, three hundred thousand men. These collectively, added to the Asiatic forces, make two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

CLXXXVI. Great as the number of these forces was, the number of the menial attendants, of the crews on board the transports carrying the provisions, and of the other vessels following the fleet, was, I believe, still greater. I will, however, suppose them equal. Thus it will appear that Xerxes, son of Darius, conducted to Sepias and to Thermopylæ an army consisting of five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men.

CLXXXVII. The above was the aggregate of the troops of Xerxes: as to the women who prepared the bread, and the slaves, no one has ever attempted to ascertain their number. The baggage-wagons also, the beasts of burden, and the Indian dogs which accompanied the army, defied all computation. We can hardly be surprised that the waters of some rivers were exhausted; but we may reasonably wonder how provision could be supplied to so vast a multitude. According to a calculation made by myself, if each of the above number had only a chœnix of corn a day, there would every day be consumed* ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni.† Neither does this computation comprehend the quantity allowed to the women, cattle, and dogs. Among all these myriads of men, with respect to grace and dignity of person,‡ no one better deserved the supreme command than Xerxes himself.

* Maitland, who, I believe, is generally allowed to be a faithful and accurate historian, furnishes us with a table of the quantity of cattle consumed annually in London, above thirty years ago, when that city was far less populous than it is at present:—

Beeves	98,244
Calves	194,760
Hogs	186,932
Pigs	52,000
Sheep and lambs	711,123

The most inquisitive calculators seem now agreed in allowing, on an average, to the metropolis a million of inhabitants.—*T.*

† There were forty-eight chœnices in one medimnus; according, therefore, to the calculation of Herodotus, there ought to have been 5,296,320 men. There is, of course, a mistake either in the number of medimni or of the troops.

‡ Through all the nations which adored his pride,
Or fear'd his power, the monarch now was pass'd;
Nor yet among these millions could be found
One who in beauteous feature might compare,
Or towering size, with Xerxes. O possess'd
Of all but virtue, doom'd to show how mean,
How weak, without her is unbounded power,
The charm of beauty, and the blaze of state;
How insecure of happiness! how vain!—*Glover.*

CLXXXVIII. The vessels of the fleet, after their arrival on the coast of Magnesia, between the town of Casthanæa and the shores of Sepias, there stationed themselves; the foremost drawing close to land, the others lying on their anchors behind. As the shore was of no great extent, the fleet was ranged in eight regular divisions, with their heads towards the main sea, in which situation they passed the night. On the approach of day, the sky and the sea, which had before been serene, were violently disturbed: a furious storm arose, attended with a violent squall of wind from the east,* which the in-

* *Apeliotes*, called also *Solanus* and *Subsolanus*. The ancients originally used only the four cardinal winds; they afterward added four more. The Romans increased them to twenty-four, and the moderns have added to the four cardinal winds twenty-eight collateral winds. The annexed table may probably be useful to many of my readers.

Names of the winds, and points of the compass.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Latin and Greek.</i>
1 NORTH	1 SEPTENTRIO OR BOREAS.
2 North by East	2 Hyperboreas, Hypaquilo, Gallicus.
3 North North East . . .	3 Aquilo.
4 North East by North . .	4 Mesoboreas, Mesaquilo, Supernas.
5 NORTH EAST	5 ARCTAPELIOTES, BORAPELIOTES, GRÆCUS.
6 North East by East . .	6 Hypocæsius.
7 East North East	7 Cæsius, Hellespontius.
8 East by North	8 Mesocæsius.
9 EAST	9 SOLANUS, SUBSOLANUS, APELIOTES.
10 East by South	10 Hypeurus, or Hypereurus.
11 East South East	11 Eurus or Volturnus.
12 South East by East . .	12 Mesaurus.
13 SOUTH EAST	13 NOTAPELIOTES, EURASTER.
14 South East by South . .	14 Hypophœnix.
15 South South East . . .	15 Phoenix, Phœnicias, Leuconotis, Gangeticus.
16 South by East	16 Mesophœnix.
17 SOUTH	17 AUSTER, NOTUS, MERIDIES.
18 South by West	18 Hypolibonotus, Alsanus.

HER.—III.—R

habitants of these parts call a Hellespontian wind. They who foresaw that the tempest would still increase, and whose situation was favourable, prevented the effects of the storm by drawing their vessels ashore, and with them preserved their own persons: of those whom the hurricane surprised farther out at sea, some were driven to the Straits of Pelion, termed the Ipnai; others went on shore: some were dashed against the Promontory of Sepias; others carried to Melibœa and Casthanœa; so severe was the tempest.

CLXXXIX. It is asserted that the Athenians, being advised by some oracle to solicit the assistance of their son-in-law, invoked in a solemn manner the aid of Boreas. Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks, married Orithya, an Athenian female, daughter of Erectheus: from this, if fame may be believed, the Athenians were induced to consider Boreas as their son-in-law; and during their station off the Eubœan Chalcis, to watch the motions of the enemy, they sacrificed to Boreas and Orithya, invoking their interposition to destroy the barbarian

19 South South West . . .	19 Libonotus, Notolibycus, Austro-Africus.
20 South West by South . . .	20 Mesolibonotus.
21 SOUTH WEST	21 NOTOZEPHYRUS, NOTOLIBYCUS, AFRICUS.
22 South West by West . . .	22 Hypolibs, Hypafricus, Subvesperus.
23 West South West	23 Libs.
24 West by South	24 Mesolibs, Mesozeephyrus.
25 WEST	25 ZEPHYRUS, FAVONIUS, OCCIDENS.
26 West by North	26 Hypargestes, Hypocorus.
27 West North West	27 Argestes, Caurus, Corus, Iapyx.
28 North West by West . . .	28 Mesargestes, Mesocorus.
29 NORTH WEST	29 ZEPHYRO-BOREAS, Borolibycus, Olympias.
30 North West by North . . .	30 Hypocircius, Hypothrascias, Scirem.
31 North North West	31 Circius, Thrascias.
32 North by West	32 Mesocircius.

fleet, as they had before done near Mount Athos. I will not presume to say, that in consequence of their supplications Boreas dispersed the barbarian fleet; but the Athenians do not scruple to affirm that Boreas, who had before been favourable to them, repeated his efforts to assist them on this occasion. They afterward erected a shrine to Boreas on the banks of the Ilissus.

CXC. In this storm, according to the lowest calculation, four hundred vessels were totally lost, with an infinite number of men, and a prodigious treasure. Aminocles, son of Cratinus, a Magnesians, who had an estate near Sepias, reaped afterward very considerable advantage from this tempest; many vessels of gold and silver were thrown by the tides on his lands: he became master also of various Persian treasures, and an immense quantity of gold. Although this incident rendered him affluent, he was in other respects unfortunate; he had by some calamity been deprived of his children.

CXCI. The loss of the provision-transports, and of the other smaller vessels, was too great to be ascertained. The naval commanders, apprehending that the Thessalians would avail themselves of this opportunity to attack them, intrenched themselves within a buttress made of the wrecks of the vessels. For three days the storm was unabated; on the fourth the magi appeased its violence by human victims, and incantations to the wind, as well as by sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereids, unless, perhaps, the tempest ceased of itself. They sacrificed to Thetis, having learned from the Ionians that it was from this coast she had been carried away by Peleus, and that all the district of Sepias was sacred to her in common with the other Nereids. It is certain that on the fourth day the tempest ceased.

CXCII. Their sentinels, who every day were stationed on the heights of Eubœa, did not fail to acquaint the Greeks with all the circumstances of the

storm on the morning which followed. As soon as they received this intelligence, after paying their vows, and offering libations to Neptune Servator, they hastily returned to Artemisium, hoping to find but few of the enemy's vessels. Thus a second time they fixed their station at Artemisium, near the temple of Neptune surnamed Servator; which appellation, given on the above occasion, is still retained.

CXCIII. The barbarians, as soon as they perceived the wind subside and the sea calm, again ventured from the shore. Coasting along, they doubled the Magnesian promontory, and made their way directly to the gulf leading to Pegasæ. It was in this Gulf of Magnesia that Hercules, going on shore from the Argo to procure water, was deserted by Jason and his companions, who were bound to Æa of Colchis to obtain the golden fleece. Having taken in water, they sailed from hence; in commemoration of which incident the place afterward took the name of the Aphetæ.

CXCIV. Here also it was that the fleet of Xerxes came to an anchor. Fifteen of these, being at a considerable distance from their companions, discovered the vessels of the Greeks at Artemisium; and, mistaking them for friends, sailed into the midst of them. The leader of these ships was Sardoces, son of Tharmasis, the governor of Cyma, in Æolia. This man Darius had formerly condemned to the punishment of the cross: he had been one of the royal judges, and convicted of corruption in his office. He was already on the cross when the king, reflecting that his services to the royal family exceeded his offences, and that he himself had in the present instance acted with more impetuosity than prudence, commanded him to be taken down. Thus he escaped the punishment to which Darius had condemned him: his escape now from the Greeks was altogether impossible; they saw him sailing

towards them, and perceiving his error, attacked and took him and his vessels.

CXCV. In one of these vessels was Aridolis, prince of the Alabandians of Caria; in another, Penthylus, son of Demonous, a Paphian general. This latter left Paphos with twelve vessels, eleven of which were lost in the storm off Sepias: he himself, with the twelfth, fell into the enemy's hands at Artemisium. The Greeks, having obtained such information as they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, sent their prisoners bound to the isthmus of Corinth.

CXCVI. Except the above fifteen vessels, commanded by Sardoces, the whole of the barbarian fleet arrived at Aphetæ. Xerxes, with his land forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, came on the third day to the territories of the Melians. While he was in Thessaly he made a trial of his cavalry against those of the Thessalians, which he had heard were the best in Greece; but in this contest the inferiority of the Greeks* was evidently

* The best cavalry in the world attended Xerxes on this expedition, namely, those of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Hecatonymus tells Xenophon, in the fifth book of the *Anabasis*, that the cavalry of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians was better and more expert in martial exercises than any other which the King of Persia had. That part of Cappadocia which Herodotus calls Cilicia paid as a tribute to the kings of Persia a horse for every day in the year. Strabo says that Cappadocia sent one thousand five hundred horses annually. The boast of Hecatonymus to Xenophon was by no means vain; the same preference was given them by others, and excellent commanders. Plutarch informs us, that on these Crassus the Roman general chiefly relied; and with these surprising feats of gallantry were performed in the Parthian war. Lucullus also had these in his army at the siege of Tigranocerta; and in the battle with Tigranes made choice of them and the Thracian horse to attack the cataphracts, the choicest of the enemy's cavalry, and to drive them from the ground. Tigranes is said to have opposed Lucullus with an army of fifty-five thousand horse; and many other instances may be adduced to show that the chief strength of these northern powers consisted in their cavalry.

conspicuous. The Onochonous was the only river in Thessaly which did not afford sufficient water for the army. Of those of Achaia the Apidanus, the greatest of them all, hardly sufficed.

CXCVII. While Xerxes was proceeding to Alos, an Achaian city, his guides, anxious to tell him every thing, related what was reported by the natives concerning the temple of Jupiter Laphystius. It was said that Athamas, the son of Æolus, in concert with Ino, contrived the death of Phryxus. The Achaians, following the command of the oracle, forbade the eldest of the descendants of Athamas ever to enter their prytaneum, called by them leitus. They were very vigilant in seeing this restriction observed; and whoever was detected within the proscribed limits could only leave them to be sacrificed. There were several who in terror escaped into another country, when they were on the point of being sacrificed. If they ever afterward returned they were, if discovered, instantly sent to the prytaneum. To the above the guides of Xerxes added the description of the sacrifice, the ceremony of binding the victim with ribands, with all other circumstances. The posterity of Cytissorus, the son of Phryxus, are subject to the above, because Cytissorus himself, in his way from Æa of Colchis, delivered Athamas from the hands of the Achæans, who, by the direction of the oracle, were about to offer him as an expiatory sacrifice. On this account the anger of the divinity fell on the posterity of Cytissorus. In consequence of hearing the above narrative, Xerxes, when he approached the precincts of the grove, cautiously avoided it himself, and commanded all his army to do the same. He showed the same veneration for the residence of the posterity of Athamas.

The curious reader may compare Plutarch's account of the army of Tigranes with that which Ezekiel gives of the army of Magog.—*T.*

CXCVIII. Such were the incidents which occurred in Thessaly and Achaia. From hence Xerxes advanced to Melis, near a bay of the sea, where the ebbing and flowing of the tide may be seen every day. Near this bay is an extensive plain, wide in one part, and contracted in another; round this plain are certain lofty and inaccessible mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, and enclosing the whole region of Melis. Leaving Achaia, the first city near this bay is Anticyra. This is washed by the river Sperchius; which, rising in the country of the Enieni, here empties itself into the sea. At the distance of twenty furlongs is another river, called Dyrras, which is said to have risen spontaneously from the earth, to succour Hercules when he was burning. A third river, called Melas, flows at the distance of twenty furlongs more.

CXCIX. Within five furlongs of this last river stands the town of Trachis. In this part the country is the widest, extending from the mountains to the sea, and comprehending a space of twenty-two thousand plethra. In the mountainous tract which encloses Trachinia, there is an opening to the west of Trachis, through which the Asopus winds round the base of the mountain.

CC. To the west of this another small stream is found, named the Phœnix; it rises in these mountains, and empties itself into the Asopus. The most contracted part of the country is that which lies nearest the Phœnix, where the road will only admit one carriage to pass. From the Phœnix to Thermopylæ are fifteen furlongs: between the Phœnix and Thermopylæ is a village named Anthela; passing which, the Asopus meets the sea. The country contiguous to Anthela is spacious: here may be seen a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, the seats of the Amphictyons, and a shrine of Amphictyon himself.

CCI. Xerxes encamped in Trachinia, at Melis;

the Greeks in the straits. These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ; the people of the country Pylæ only. Here, then, were the two armies stationed; Xerxes occupying all the northern region as far as Trachinia, the Greeks that of the south.

CCII. The Grecian army* which here waited the approach of the Persian was composed of three hundred Spartans in complete armour; five hundred Tegeatæ, and as many Mantineans; one hundred and twenty men from Orchomenus of Arcadia; a thousand men from the rest of Arcadia; four hundred Corinthians; two hundred from Phlius; and eighty from Mycenæ. The above came from the Peloponnesus: from Bœotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

CCIII. In addition to the above, the aid of all the Opuntian Locrians had been solicited, together with a thousand Phoceans. To obtain the assistance of

* Beneath is the number of Greeks who appeared on this occasion, according to the different representations of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus:

	Herodotus.	Pausanias.	Diodorus.
Spartans . . .	300	300	300
Tegeatæ . . .	500	500	Lacedæmonians . . . 700
Mantineans . . .	500	500	The other nations
Orchomenians . .	120	120	of the Pelopon-
Arcadians . . .	1000	1000	nesus 3000
Corinthians . . .	400	400	
Phlyontians . . .	200	200	
Mycenians . . .	80	80	
	<hr/> 3100	<hr/> 3100	<hr/> 4000

The above came from the Peloponnesus; those who came from the other parts of Greece, according to the authors above mentioned:

Thespians . . .	700	700	Milesians 1000
Thebans . . .	400	400 400
Phoceans . . .	1000	1000 1000
Opuntian Locrians	6000 1000
	<hr/> 5200	<hr/> 11,200	<hr/> 7400

these, the Greeks had previously sent emissaries among them; saying, that they were the forerunners only of another and more numerous body, whose arrival was every day expected. They added, that the defence of the sea was confided to the people of Athens and Ægina, in conjunction with the rest of the fleet; that there was no occasion for alarm, as the invader of Greece was not a god, but a mere human being; that there never was nor could be any mortal superior to the vicissitudes of fortune; that the most exalted characters were exposed to the greatest evils: he, therefore, a mortal, now advancing to attack them, would suffer* for his temerity. These arguments proved effectual, and they accordingly marched to Trachis to join their allies.

CCIV. These troops were commanded by different officers of their respective countries; but the man most regarded, and who was intrusted with the chief command, was Leonidas of Sparta. His ancestors were Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules.

CCV. An accident had placed him on the throne of Sparta: for, as he had two brothers older than himself, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had entertained no thoughts of the government: but Cleomenes dying without male issue, and Dorieus not surviving (for he ended his days in Sicily), the crown came to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandrides, and who had married the daughter of Cleomenes. On the present occasion he took with him to Thermopylæ a body

* The expedition of Xerxes to Greece, and his calamitous return, as described by Herodotus, may be well expressed by the words with which Ezekiel describes Gog's army and its destruction.

of three hundred chosen men, all of whom had children. To these he added those Theban troops whose number I have before mentioned, and who were conducted by Leontiades, son of Eurymachus. Leonidas had selected the Thebans to accompany him, because a suspicion generally prevailed that they were secretly attached to the Medes. These, therefore, he summoned to attend him, to ascertain whether they would actually contribute their aid, or openly withdraw themselves from the Grecian league. With sentiments perfectly hostile, they nevertheless sent the assistance required.

CCVI. The march of this body under Leonidas was accelerated by the Spartans, that their example might stimulate their allies to action, and that they might not make their delay a pretence for going over to the Medes. The celebration of the Car-nian festival protracted the march of their main body; but it was their intention to follow with all imaginable expedition, leaving only a small detachment for the defence of Sparta. The rest of the allies were actuated by similar motives, for the olympic games happened to recur at this period; and as they did not expect an engagement would immediately take place at Thermopylæ, they sent only a detachment before them.

CCVII. Such were the motives of the confederate body. The Greeks who were already assembled at Thermopylæ were seized with so much terror on the approach of the Persian, that they consulted about a retreat. Those of the Peloponnesus were, in general, of opinion that they should return and guard the isthmus; but as the Phoceans and Locrians were exceedingly averse to this measure, Leonidas prevailed on them to continue on their post. He resolved, however, to send messengers round to all the states, requiring supplies, stating that their number was much too small to oppose the Medes with any effect.

· CCVIII. While they thus deliberated, Xerxes sent a horseman to examine their number and their motions. He had before heard in Thessaly that a small band was collected at this passage, that they were led by Lacedæmonians, and by Leonidas of the race of Hercules. The person employed performed his duty: all those who were without the intrenchment he was able to reconnoitre; those who were within for the purpose of defending it, eluded his observation. The Lacedæmonians were at that period stationed without; of these, some were performing gymnastic exercises, while others were employed in combing their hair. He was greatly astonished; but he leisurely surveyed their number and employments, and returned without molestation, for they despised him too much to pursue him. He related to Xerxes all that he had seen.

CCIX. Xerxes, on hearing the above, was little aware of what was really the case, that this people were preparing themselves either to conquer or to die. The thing appeared to him so ridiculous, that he sent for Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who was then with the army. On his appearing, the king questioned him on this behaviour of the Spartans, expressing his desire to know what it might intimate. "I have before, sir," said Demaratus, "spoken to you of this people at the commencement of this expedition; and, as I remember, when I related to you what I knew you would have occasion to observe, you treated me with contempt. I am conscious of the danger of declaring the truth, in opposition to your prejudices; but I will nevertheless do this. It is the determination of these men to dispute with us, and they are preparing themselves accordingly. It is their custom, before any enterprise of danger, to adorn their hair.* Of this you may be

* Long hair distinguished the freeman from the slave; and, according to Plutarch, Lycurgus was accustomed to say, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who

assured, that if you vanquish these and their countrymen in Sparta, no other nation will presume to take up arms against you: you are now advancing to attack a people whose realms and city are the fairest, and whose troops are the bravest, of Greece." These words seemed to Xerxes preposterous enough; but he demanded a second time how so small a number could contend with his army. "Sir," said he, "I will submit to suffer the punishment of falsehood, if what I say does not happen."

CCX. Xerxes was still incredulous: he accordingly kept his position without any movement for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat. On the fifth day, observing that they continued on their post, merely, as he supposed, from the most impudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and sent against them a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. The Medes, in consequence, attacked them, and lost a considerable number. A re-enforcement arrived; but though the onset was severe, no impression was made. It now became universally conspicuous, and no less so to the king himself, that he had many troops, but few men.* The above engagement continued all day.

were ugly more terrific. The following are some of the most animated lines in Leonidas:—

To whom the Spartan: "O imperial lord,
Such is their custom, to adorn their heads
When full determined to encounter death.
Bring down thy nations in resplendent steel:
Arm, if thou canst, the general race of man,
All who possess the regions unexplored
Beyond the Ganges, all whose wand'ring steps
Above the Caspian range, the Scythian wild,
With those who drink the secret fount of Nile;
Yet to Laconian bosoms shall dismay
Remain a stranger."—T,

* According to Plutarch, Leonidas being asked how he dared

CCXI. The Medes, after being very roughly treated, retired, and were succeeded by the band of Persians called by the king "the immortal," and commanded by Hydarnes. These, it was supposed, would succeed without the smallest difficulty. They commenced the attack, but made no greater impression than the Medes; their superior numbers were of no advantage, on account of the narrowness of the place: and their spears also were shorter than those of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians fought in a manner which deserves to be recorded; their own excellent discipline and the unskilfulness of their adversaries were in many instances remarkable, and not the least so when in close ranks they effected a retreat. The barbarians, seeing them retire, pursued them with a great and clamorous shout; but, on their near approach, the Greeks faced about to receive them. The loss of the Persians was prodigious, and a few also of the Spartans fell. The Persians, after successive efforts made with great bodies of their troops to gain the pass, were unable to accomplish it, and obliged to retire.

CCXII. It is said of Xerxes himself, that, being a spectator of the contest, he was so greatly alarmed for the safety of his men, that he leaped thrice from his throne. On the following day the barbarians succeeded no better than before. They went to the onset as against a contemptible number, whose wounds, they supposed, would hardly permit them to renew the combat: but the Greeks, drawn up in regular divisions, fought each nation on its respective post, except the Phocéans, who were stationed on the summit of the mountain to defend the pass. The Persians, experiencing a repetition of the same treatment, a second time retired.

to encounter so prodigious a multitude with so few men, replied: "If you reckon by number, all Greece is not able to oppose a small part of that army; but if by courage, the number I have with me is sufficient."—*T*.

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CCXIII. While the king was exceedingly perplexed what conduct to pursue in the present emergency, Ephialtes, the son of Eurydemus, a Melian, demanded an audience: he expected to receive some great recompense for showing him the path which led over the mountain to Thermopylæ; and he indeed it was who thus rendered ineffectual the valour of those Greeks who perished on this station. This man, through fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled afterward into Thessaly; but the Pylagoræ, calling a council of the Amphictyons at Pylæa for this express purpose, set a price on his head, and he was afterward slain by Athenades, a Trachinian, at Anticyra, to which place he had returned. Athenades was induced to put him to death for some other reason, which I shall afterward explain; he nevertheless received the reward offered by the Lacedæmonians:—this, however, was the end of Ephialtes.

CCXIV. On this subject there is also a different report; for it is said that Onetes, son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus of Anticyra, were the men who informed the king of this path, and conducted the Persians round the mountain. This, with me, obtains no credit; for nothing is better known than that the Pylagoræ did not set a price on the heads of Onetes or Corydalus, but on that of Ephialtes the Trachinian, after, as may be presumed, a due investigation of the matter. It is also certain that Ephialtes, conscious of his crime, endeavoured to save himself by flight. Onetes, being a Melian, might, perhaps, if tolerably acquainted with the country, have known this passage; but it was certainly Ephialtes who showed it to the Persians, and to him, without scruple, I impute the crime.

CCXV. The intelligence of Ephialtes gave the king infinite satisfaction, and he instantly detached Hydarnes with the forces under his command to avail himself of it. They left the camp at the first

approach of evening: the Melians, the natives of the country, discovered this path, and by it conducted the Thessalians against the Phoceans, who had defended it by an intrenchment, and deemed themselves secure. It had never, however, proved of any advantage to the Melians.

CCXVI. The path of which we are speaking commences at the river Asopus. This stream flows through an aperture of the mountain, called Anopæ, which is also the name of the path. This is continued through the whole length of the mountain, and terminates near the town of Alpenus. This is the first city of the Locrians, on the side next the Melians, near the rock called Melampygy, by the residence of the Cercopes.* It is narrowest at this point.

CCXVII. Following this track which I have described, the Persians passed the Asopus, and marched all night, keeping the Œtean mountains on the right, and the Trachinian on the left. At the dawn of morning they found themselves at the summit, where, as I have before described, a band of a thousand Phoceans in arms were stationed, both to defend their own country and this pass. The passage beneath was defended by those whom I have mentioned: of this above, the Phoceans had voluntarily promised Leonidas to undertake the charge.

CCXVIII. The approach of the Persians was discovered to the Phoceans in this manner: while they were ascending the mountain they were totally concealed by the thick groves of oak; but, from the

* These people were robbers. Homer is said to have written a poem on them. Probably the expression extended to all sorts of robbers, of whom there were doubtless many in such a place as Œta. Plutarch mentions them as a ridiculous people, making Agis say to Alexander, "I am not a little surprised that all you great men who are descended from Jupiter take a strange delight in flatterers and buffoons: Hercules had his Cercopians, Bacchus his Silenians about him; so I see your majesty is pleased to have a regard for such characters."—*Larcher*.

stillness of the air, they were discovered by the noise they made by trampling on the leaves; a thing which might naturally happen. The Phoceans ran to arms, and in a moment the barbarians appeared, who, seeing a number of men precipitately arming themselves, were at first struck with astonishment. They did not expect an adversary, and they had fallen in among armed troops. Hydarnes, apprehending that the Phoceans might prove to be Lacedæmonians, inquired of Ephialtes who they were. When he was informed, he drew up the Persians in order of battle. The Phoceans, not able to sustain the heavy flight of arrows, retreated up the mountain, imagining themselves the objects of this attack, and expecting certain destruction: but the troops with Hydarnes and Ephialtes did not think it worth their while to pursue them, and descended rapidly the opposite side of the mountain.

CCXIX. To those Greeks stationed in the straits of Thermopylæ, Megistias the soothsayer had previously, from inspection of the entrails, predicted that death awaited them in the morning. Some deserters had also informed them of the circuit the Persians had taken; and this intelligence was, in the course of the night, circulated through the camp. All this was confirmed by their sentinels, who early in the morning fled down the sides of the mountain. In this predicament the Greeks called a council, who were greatly divided in their opinions: some were for remaining on their stations, others advised a retreat. In consequence of their not agreeing, many of them dispersed to their respective cities; a part resolved to continue with Leonidas.

CCXX. It is said that those who retired only did so in compliance with the wishes of Leonidas, who was desirous to preserve them: but he thought that he himself, with his Spartans, could not, without the greatest ignominy, forsake the post they had come to defend. I am myself inclined to believe

that Leonidas, seeing his allies not only reluctant, but totally averse to resist the danger which menaced them, consented to their retreat. His own return he considered as dishonourable, while he was convinced that his defending his post would equally secure his own fame and the good of Sparta. In the very beginning of these disturbances the Spartans, having consulted the oracle, were informed that either their king must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the barbarians. The oracle was communicated in hexameter verses, and was to this effect :

“To you who dwell in Sparta’s ample walls,
Behold, a dire alternative befalls ;—
Your glorious city must in ruins lie,
Or, slain by Persian arms, a king must die ;
A king descended from Herculean blood.
For, lo ! he comes, and cannot be withstood ;
Nor bulls nor lions can dispute the field,
’Tis Jove’s own force, and this or that must yield.”

I am unwilling to presume of the allies that departed, that, differing in opinion from their leader, they dishonourably deserted. I should also suppose that the conduct of Leonidas was the result of his revolving the oracle in his mind, and of his great desire to secure to the Spartans alone the glory of this memorable action.

CCXXI. To me it is no small testimony of the truth of the above, that among those whom Leonidas dismissed was Megistias himself. He was of Acarnania, and, as some affirm, descended from Melampus : he accompanied Leonidas on this expedition, and from the entrails had predicted what would happen : he refused, however, to leave his friends, and satisfied himself with sending away his only son, who had followed his father on this occasion.

CCXXII. Obedient to the direction of their leader, the confederates retired. The Thespians and Thebans alone remained with the Spartans ; the Thebans, indeed, very reluctantly ; but they were detained by Leonidas as hostages. The Thespians

were very zealous in the cause, and, refusing to abandon their friends, perished with them. The leader of the Thespians was Demophilus, son of Di-dromas.

CCXXIII. Xerxes early in the morning offered a solemn libation, then waiting till that period of the day when the forum is fullest of people, he advanced from his camp: to the above measure he had been advised by Ephialtes. The descent from the mountain is of much shorter extent than the circuitous ascent. The barbarians with Xerxes approached; Leonidas and his Greeks proceeded as to inevitable death a much greater space from the defile than he had yet done. Till now they had defended themselves behind their intrenchment, fighting in the most contracted part of the passage; but on this day they engaged on a wider space, and a multitude of their opponents fell. Behind each troop officers were stationed with whips in their hands, compelling with blows their men to advance. Many of them fell into the sea, where they perished; many were trodden under foot by their own troops, without exciting the smallest pity or regard. The Greeks, conscious that their destruction was at hand from those who had taken the circuit of the mountain, exerted themselves with the most desperate valour against the barbarian assailants.

CCXXIV. Their spears being broken in pieces, they had recourse to their swords.* Leonidas fell in the engagement, having greatly signalized himself; and with him many Spartans of distinction, as well as others of inferior note. I am acquainted with the names of all the three hundred. Many illustrious Persians also were slain, among whom were Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius, by Phrataguna, the daughter of Artanes. Artanes was

* The soldiers of the Lacedæmonians wore a red uniform; and Suidas says that it was because the blood of those who were wounded would thus be less conspicuous.—T.

the brother of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and grandson of Arsamis. Having married his daughter to Darius, as she was an only child, all his wealth went with her.

CCXXV. These two brothers of Xerxes fell as they were contending for the body of Leonidas.* Here the conflict was the most severe, till at length the Greeks, by their superior valour, four times repelled the Persians, and drew aside the body of their prince. In this situation they continued till Ephialtes and his party approached. As soon as the Greeks perceived them at hand, the scene was changed, and they retreated to the narrowest part of the pass. Having repassed their intrenchment, they posted themselves, all except the Thebans, in a compact body, on a hill which is at the entrance of the straits, and where a lion of stone† has been erected in honour of Leonidas. In this situation they who had swords left used them against the enemy, the rest exerted themselves with their hands and their teeth.‡ The

* One of the noblest descriptions in Homer is that of the battle for the body of Patroclus; and we learn from various examples that the ancients were remarkably tenacious on this head, deeming it the greatest baseness to forsake the dead bodies of their friends. Plutarch, in his parallels between the Romans and Greeks, thus describes the death of Leonidas:—

“While they were at dinner, the barbarians fell on them; on which Leonidas desired them to eat heartily, for they were to sup with Pluto. Leonidas charged at the head of his troops, and after receiving a multitude of wounds, got up to Xerxes himself, and snatched the crown from his head. He lost his life in the attempt; and Xerxes, causing his body to be opened, found his heart hairy. So says Aristides, in the first book of his Persian history.”

† Two epigrams on this subject may be found in the *Analecta Veterum Poet. Græc.* v. i. 132, v. ii. 162. The bones of Leonidas were carried back to Sparta by Pausanias, forty years after his death; they were placed in a monument opposite the theatre; every year they pronounced in this place a funeral oration, and celebrated games, at which Spartans only were suffered to contend.—*Larcher.*

‡ “What are we to think of this hyperbole?” says Longinus.

barbarians rushing on them, some in front, after overturning their wall, others surrounding and pressing them in all directions, finally overpowered them.

CCXXVI. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Thespians; but none of them distinguished themselves so much as Dieneces the Spartan.

"What probability is there that men should defend themselves with their hands and teeth against armed troops? This, nevertheless, is not incredible: for the thing does not appear to be sought out for an hyperbole, but the hyperbole seems to arise from the subject."

This circumstance, which appeared hyperbolical to Longinus, does not to me; this mode of fighting was common among the Lacedæmonians: when they had no arms, they availed themselves of their nails and teeth. Cicero had been a witness of this.—See the *Tusculan Questions*, b. v. c. 27.

Diodorus Siculus relates the battle of Thermopylæ somewhat differently: he tells us that Leonidas, when he knew that he was circumvented, made a bold attempt by night to penetrate to the tent of Xerxes; but this the Persian king had forsaken on the first alarm. The Greeks, however, proceeded in search of him from one side to the other, and slew a prodigious multitude. When morning approached, the Persians, perceiving the Greeks so few in number, held them in contempt; but they still did not dare to attack them in front: encompassing them on both sides, and behind, they slew them all with their spears. Such was the end of Leonidas and his party.

Mr. Glover, in his English poem of Leonidas, has followed the account of Diodorus: he differs, however, from both historians, in making the King of Sparta fall the last: his description is sufficiently animated to be inserted in this place:—

The Spartan king
Now stands alone. In heaps his slaughter'd friends
All stretch'd around him lie. The distant foes
Show'r on his head innumerable darts;
From various sluices gush the vital floods;
They stain his fainting limbs; nor yet with pain
His brow is clouded; but those beauteous wounds,
The sacred pledges of his own renown,
And Sparta's safety, in serenest joy
His closing eye contemplates. Fame can twine
No brighter laurels round his glorious head;
His virtue more to labour fate forbids,
And lays him now in honourable rest,
To seal his country's liberty by death.

A speech of his is recorded which he made before they came to any engagement. A certain Trachinian having observed that the barbarians would send forth such a shower of arrows that their multitude would obscure the sun, he replied, like a man ignorant of fear, and despising the numbers of the Medes, "Our Trachinian friend promises us great advantages: if the Medes obscure the sun's light, we shall fight with them in the shade, and be protected from the heat." Many other sayings have been handed down as monuments of this man's fame.

CCXXVII. Next to him, the most distinguished of the Spartans were Alpheus and Maron, two brothers, the sons of Orsiphantus: of the Thespians, the most conspicuous was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatidas.

CCXXVIII. All these were interred in the place where they fell, together with such of the confederates as were slain before the separation of the forces by Leonidas. On their tomb was this inscription:—

"Here once, from Pelops' seagirt region brought,
Four thousand men three hostile millions fought."

This was applied to them all collectively. The Spartans were thus distinguished:—

"Go, stranger, and to list'ning Spartans tell,
That here, obedient to their laws, we fell."

There was one also appropriated to the prophet Megistias:—

"By Medes cut off beside Sperchius' wave,
The seer Megistias fills this glorious grave:
Who stood the fate he well foresaw to meet,
And, link'd with Sparta's leaders, scorn'd retreat."

All these ornaments and inscriptions, that of Megistias alone excepted, were here placed by the Amphictyons. Simonides, son of Leoprepis,* inscribed

* The Simonides here mentioned composed several works, the titles of which may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

the one to the honour of Megistias, from the ties of private hospitality.

CCXXIX. Of these three hundred, there were two named Eurytus and Aristodemus : both of them, consistently with the discipline of their country, might have secured themselves by retiring to Sparta, for Leonidas had permitted them to leave the camp ; but they continued at Alpenus, being both afflicted by a violent disorder of the eyes : or, if they had not thought proper to return home, they had the alternative of meeting death in the field with their fellow-soldiers. In this situation, they differed in opinion what conduct to pursue. Eurytus, having heard of the circuit made by the Persians, called for his arms, and putting them on, commanded his helot to conduct him to the battle. The slave did so, and immediately fled, while his master died fighting valiantly. Aristodemus pusillanimously stayed where he was. If either Aristodemus, being individually diseased, had retired home, or if they had returned together, I cannot think that the Spartans could have shown any resentment against them ; but as one of them died in the field, which the other, who was precisely in the same circumstances, refused to do, it was impossible not to be greatly incensed against Aristodemus.

CCXXX. The safe return of Aristodemus to Sparta is by some thus related and explained. There are others who assert that he was despatched on some business from the army, and might, if he had pleased, have been present at the battle, but that he saved himself by lingering on the way. They add, that his companion, employed on the same business, returned to the battle, and there fell.

CCXXXI. Aristodemus, on his return, was branded with disgrace and infamy : no one would speak with him ; no one would supply him with fire ; and the opprobrious term of trembler was annexed to his name : but he afterward, at the battle of Platea, effectually atoned for his former conduct.

CCXXXII. It is also said that another of the three hundred survived; his name was Pantites, and he had been sent on some business to Thessaly. Returning to Sparta, he felt himself in disgrace, and put an end to his life.

CCXXXIII. The Thebans, under the command of Leontiades, hitherto constrained by force, had fought with the Greeks against the Persians; but as soon as they saw that the Persians were victorious, when Leonidas and his party retired to the hill, they separated themselves from the Greeks. In the attitude of suppliants they approached the barbarians, assuring them what was really the truth, that they were attached to the Medes; that they had been among the first to render earth and water; that they had only come to Thermopylæ on compulsion, and could not be considered as accessory to the slaughter of the king's troops. The Thessalians confirming the truth of what they had asserted, their lives were preserved. Some of them, however, were slain; for as they approached, the barbarians put several to the sword; but the greater part, by the order of Xerxes, had the royal marks impressed on them, beginning with Leontiades himself. Eurymachus his son was afterward slain at the head of four hundred Thebans, by the people of Platea, while he was making an attempt on their city.

CXXXIV. In this manner the Greeks fought* at

* Plutarch censures Herodotus for omitting many memorable things relating to Leonidas. Some of those specified by Plutarch I have already introduced in my notes, others were as follows: when the wife of Leonidas took leave of him, she asked him what commands he had for her? "Marry," said he, in reply, "a good man, and bring him good children." Being desirous of saving two of his relations who were with him at Thermopylæ, he pretended to give them messages to the senate of Sparta: "I followed you," said one of them, "to fight, not as a messenger."—"What you enjoin," said the other, "is the business of a messenger:" he then took up his shield and placed himself in his rank.

Thermopylæ. Xerxes afterward sent for Demaratus, and thus addressed him: "I have already, Demaratus, had experience of your truth and integ-

I cannot in a more proper place than this make a few miscellaneous remarks on the institutions of Lycurgus, and the manners of the Spartans; not that I entertain any hope of throwing new light on a subject which has been amply investigated by the learned; but I may perhaps be able to make a few things familiar to my English readers, which were obscure or unknown to them before. The Spartans are renowned in the volumes of antiquity for one virtue above all others: I speak of their fortitude, which they carried to an amazing and almost incredible perfection; a virtue which, if we canvass and examine it to the extent in which it was practised by this extraordinary people, will seem almost peculiar to themselves.

It was the aim of Lycurgus to settle and root in the minds of the Spartans this principle, that the preference was always to be given to virtue, which constituted the only real difference or inequality between one man and another. And he succeeded almost to a miracle. He persuaded them to renounce all other means of happiness usually but falsely so called, to make virtue their chief and only object, and to put themselves, their desires, and their hopes, to this single test. He prevailed on the rich and noble to give up their ample possessions, to throw all they had into a common fund, and to reduce themselves to a level with their neighbours. And these men, instead of the soft and tender blandishments of plenty, the sweets of luxury, and the pride of life, to which they had been accustomed, were contented to submit to the austerities of a severe and painful discipline; to sit down to a coarse mess of black Spartan broth; to make no appearance; to expect no treatment abroad better than others. This astonishing reformation was confirmed and secured by two expedients; the one, which obliged every person to dine constantly in public with his own tribe, on the dinner which was provided for them at the expense of the state; the other, which forbade the use of any other than iron money: by these salutary injunctions, every opportunity of indulging in luxury was cut off, as well as the means of providing for it. They rendered money altogether useless among them; so that Plutarch informs us it was a common saying in other countries, "that at Sparta, and there alone, of all the cities in the world, Plutus the god of riches was blind; a mere picture or statue, without life or motion." I would here remark, that this is one note of difference which Polybius assigns against those who likened the Cretan polity to the Spartan, see book sixth. Plato also, when he reckons riches the fourth ordinary blessing

rity; every thing has happened as you foretold; tell me, then, how many of the Lacedæmonians may there be left? how many of like valour with

to a state, certainly could not esteem this disregard of money which prevailed in Sparta as a mark of extraordinary virtue; but ordinances so self-denying, so opposite to the suggestions of sense, and the ordinary practice of mankind, would not have been received on the authority of Lycurgus, if they had not been favoured by a character of mind peculiar to this people. It was the natural and constitutional bravery of the Spartans which inclined them to admit and obey such a plan and form of government.

Precept and authority alone would not have done it; for the passions of men are neither to be reasoned nor terrified from their own bent and tendency: it is, therefore, but rendering justice to this gallant people, to confess that their bravery of mind was founded in inclination and principle. Cicero observes that the Spartans (and the same could not be said of any other people in the world) had retained their primitive manners, without changing their laws, for more than seven hundred years.

Plutarch says only five hundred years, until the time of Agis, son of Archidamus, in which period fourteen kings had reigned. See his life of Lycurgus. The conquest of Lysander in Asia, by filling Lacedæmon with money, introduced luxury, and vitiated their morals; several examples of which are produced by Xenophon. The women of Sparta seem little less entitled to admiration: strangers to the natural weakness and softness of their sex, they were actuated by the same gallant spirit as the men. They submitted to a like discipline, and endured similar hardships. Instead of studying the accomplishments which usually distinguish a female education, they accustomed themselves to manly exercises; to running, wrestling, throwing the dart or quoit; having the emulation to contend with men at their own arts, and to bear them company in the same paths of glory.

I cannot help presuming, with respect to the dames as well as the men of Sparta, that it must have been something innate, something beyond the power of education, custom, or example, which constitutes the wonderful difference we discern in them, compared with all other women. Can it then be a matter of wonder that the Spartan females claimed extraordinary privileges at home, and more extensive power in the government of their families? Lycurgus disliked that excessive authority which the women had usurped, and attempted, it seems, to reform it, and to restore to the husband the usual and proper authority in his own house; but in vain: a convincing argument

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those who have perished ? or, are they all alike ?"—
 "Sir," replied Demaratus, "the Lacedæmonians are
 a numerous people, and possessed of many cities ;

that, if the women had not of themselves been inclined to his laws of female education, they would have paid them neither attention nor obedience. War, then, and conquest, with the endurance of fatigue, were the principal objects which the Spartans had in view. Learning, and the study of letters, of arts and sciences, to which their neighbours the Athenians were devoted, were in no repute among them. Hence it has been observed, that the former made the better figure in war, the latter in peace.

And this was unquestionably true ; since we are assured that, although the most rigorous care was taken to keep their youth constantly to their exercises, their men of mature years were permitted to live just as they pleased ; they followed no employment, they disdained industry and honest labour, and were, indeed, forbidden to pursue any art which was accounted illiberal ; even husbandry, and the management and culture of their lands, the most rational and public-spirited study that can be pursued, they left entirely to their slaves. The old men of Sparta spent the whole of their time in frequenting their schools and apartments of the youth, as at Athens they did at the public places of resort, to hear or to tell some new thing. The former, indeed, could mispend their time in this manner with more grace, and might plead the authority of Lycurgus in their vindication, whose policy and scheme of government aimed at maintaining an equality among the people, by restraining them from trade, and the arts of growing rich. The design of Solon was entirely the reverse : he strove to animate the Athenians with a spirit of industry ; he enacted a law against idleness, requiring every person to have a calling and profession, and the philosopher who had none fell under the statute. Cleanthes and Menedemus were indicted and called before the areopagus on this account.

I have little to say on the religion of the Spartans. The object of their worship seems to have been diversified by them as well as by the Athenians, according to the system of politics which their respective lawgivers established. Solon, intent on promoting commerce and gainful arts, presented the GREAT GODDESS to the Athenians, holding in her right hand the weaver's beam, and he surnamed her, from the Egyptians, Athene and Minerva, styling her the goddess of arts and sciences. Lycurgus, training up the Spartans to the discipline of war, clothed the same goddess in armour, called her Pallas, and the Goddess of Battle. She was styled Chalciocus, either

but I will answer your question more particularly. Sparta itself contains eight thousand men, all of whom are equal in valour to those who fought here; the other Lacedæmonians, though inferior to these, are still brave."—"Tell me, then," returned Xerxes, "how we may subdue these men with least trouble: you, who have been their prince, must know what measures they are likely to pursue."

CCXXXV. "Since, sir," answered Demaratus, "you place a confidence in my opinion, it is proper that I should speak to you from the best of my judgment: I would therefore recommend you to send a fleet of three hundred vessels to the coast of Lacedæmonia. Contiguous to this is an island named Cythera, of which Chilon, the wisest of our countrymen, observed, that it would be better for the Spartans if it were buried in the sea, foreseeing the probability of such a measure as I now recommend. From this island your troops may spread terror over Sparta. Thus, a war so very near them may remove from you any apprehension of their assisting the rest of Greece, which will then be open to your arms, and which, if subdued, will leave Sparta hardly able to oppose you. If my advice be disregarded, you may expect what follows. There is a narrow isthmus in the Peloponnesus, in which all its people will assemble in resistance to your arms, and where you will have far more violent contests to sustain than you have here experienced. If you execute what I propose, you

because her temple was of brass, or because it was built by fugitives from Chalcis in Eubœa. The brothers also, Castor and Pollux, were for similar reasons enrolled in the Fasti of the Spartans; and I presume, if the pagan theology be capable of being reduced to any fixed and settled rules, it will be best explained and accounted for by supposing the religion of every different nation or people to be a mixture of worship, and physics, and politics, and that their idols were representations of natural causes, named and habited according to the different tempers and genius of those who set them up.—T.

may without a battle become master of the isthmus, with all the cities of the Peloponnesus."

CCXXXVI. Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, was present at this interview. Fearful that the king might do as he had been advised, he thus delivered his sentiments: "You seem, sir," said he, "too much inclined to listen to a man who either envies your prosperity, or wishes to betray you. It is the character of Greeks to envy the successful, and to hate their superiors. We have already lost by shipwreck four hundred vessels: if we detach three hundred more to the Peloponnesus, the force of our opponents will be equal to our own: our united fleet will be far superior to theirs, and, with respect to any efforts they can make, invincible. If your forces by land, and your fleet by sea, advance at the same time, they will be able mutually to assist each other: if you separate them, the fleet will not be able to assist you, nor you the fleet. It becomes you to deliberate well on your own affairs, and not to concern yourself about those of your enemies, nor to inquire where they will commence their hostilities, what measures they will take, or how numerous they are. Let them attend to their affairs, we to ours. If the Lacedæmonians shall presume to attack the Persians, they will be far from repairing the loss they have already sustained."

CCXXXVII. "Achæmenes," answered Xerxes, "I approve your counsel, and will follow it. The sentiments of Demaratus are, I well know, dictated by his regard to my interests; but your advice to me seems preferable. I cannot be persuaded that he has any improper intentions, events having proved the wisdom of his former counsels. One man frequently envies the prosperity of another, and indulges in secret sentiments of hatred against him; neither will he, when he requires it, give him salutary advice, unless indeed from some surprising

effort of virtue; but a friend exults in a friend's happiness; has no sentiments for him but those of the truest kindness, and gives him always the best advice. Let no one, therefore, in future use any invective against Demaratus, who is my friend."

CCXXXVIII. When Xerxes had finished he went to view the dead, among whom was Leonidas. When he heard that he had been the prince and leader of Sparta, he ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be suspended on a cross. This incident is no small proof to me, among many others, that Xerxes indulged the warmest indignation against Leonidas while he was alive. He otherwise would not have treated him when dead with such barbarity. I know that the Persians of all mankind most highly honour military virtue. The orders, however, of the king were executed.

CCXXXIX. I shall now return to the thread of our history. The Spartans were the first who were acquainted with the king's designs against Greece; they sent to the oracle on the occasion, and received the answer I have related. The intelligence was communicated to them in an extraordinary manner. Demaratus, the son of Ariston, had taken refuge among the Medes, and, as there is every reason to suppose, was not friendly to the Spartans. He however it was who informed them of what was meditated, whether to serve or insult them must be left to conjecture. When Xerxes had resolved on this expedition against Greece, Demaratus, who was at Susa, and acquainted with his intentions, determined to inform the Lacedæmonians. As this was both difficult and dangerous, he employed the following means: he took two tablets, and erased the wax from each; then inscribed the purpose of the king on the wood. This done, he replaced the wax, that the several guards on the road, from seeing the empty tablets, might have no suspicion of the business. When these

were delivered at Lacedæmon the people had no conception of their meaning, till, as I have been informed, Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes, and wife of Leonidas, removed the difficulty. Imagining what might be intended, she ordered the wax to be removed, and thus made the contents of the tablets known. The Lacedæmonians, after examining what was inscribed on the wood, circulated the intelligence through Greece.

BOOK VIII.

URANIA.

CHAP. I. I have before described the events which are said to have happened. The Greeks who composed the naval armament were these: The Athenians* furnished one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, part of which were manned by Plateans, who, though ignorant of sea affairs, were prompted by zeal and courage; the Corinthians brought forty ships; the Megareans twenty; the Chalcidians equipped twenty ships, which the Athenians supplied: the Æginetæ eighteen; the Sicyonians twelve; and the Lacedæmonians ten: the Epidaurians brought eight; the Eretrians seven; the Trœzenians five; the Styreans two; the people of Ceos two, and two barks of fifty oars: the Opuntian Locrians assisted the confederates with seven vessels of fifty oars.

II. These were stationed at Artemisium; and such were the numbers which each nation-supplied. Without taking into the account the vessels of fifty oars, the whole amounted to two hundred and seventy-one. Of these the commander-in-chief appointed by the Spartans was Eurybiades, the son of Euryclidas. The allies refused to serve under the Athenians, and had resolved, unless they had a Spartan leader, to disperse.

III. At first, and before any deputation had been sent to Sicily requiring assistance, it had been debated whether it would not be expedient to intrust

* Diodorus Siculus makes the number of Athenian vessels on this occasion two hundred.

the conduct of the naval forces to the Athenians; but as this was opposed by the allies, the Athenians did not insist on it. Their principal concern was the welfare of Greece; and as they were sensible that it would be endangered by any contention, they very wisely withdrew their claims. As much as war itself is more destructive than peace, so much more dangerous are intestine commotions than a war conducted with consistency and union: persuaded of this, they did not dispute the matter while circumstances justified and required their forbearance. Afterward, when having repelled the Persian, they were contending for what belonged to him, they made the insolence of Pausanias a pretence for depriving the Lacedæmonians of the command. These, however, were things which happened afterward.

IV. When the Greeks assembled at Artemisium saw the number of ships which were collected at Aphetæ, and every place crowded with troops, they were struck with terror; and as the attempts of the barbarians had succeeded so much beyond their expectations, they consulted about retreating to the interior parts of Greece. When this idea had been generally circulated, the Eubœans entreated Eurybiades to give them time to remove their children and their slaves. Unsuccessful in this application, they went to Themistocles the Athenian leader, whom they engaged on consideration of thirty talents to continue at Eubœa, and risk the event of a battle.

V. This was effected by Themistocles in the following manner: He presented Eurybiades with five talents, as if from himself; having gained him, he had only to prevail on Adimantus the Corinthian, the son of Ocytus, who was obstinate in his determination to sail from Artemisium. After using the solemnity of an oath, "If you," said he, "will not desert, I promise to give you a greater present than

the king of the Medes would have done for leaving us." He instantly sent to his vessel three talents of silver. By these gifts he gained the commanders to his purpose, and satisfied the Eubœans. Themistocles rewarded himself by keeping the remainder, while they who had accepted of his presents supposed the money had been sent him from Athens for this purpose.

VI. They continued therefore at Eubœa, and came to a battle. The barbarians, arriving at break of day at Aphetæ, had before heard that the Greeks at Artemisium were very few in number. On their seeing this they were eager to engage, in expectation of taking them: they did not, however, think it expedient to advance directly to the attack, lest the Greeks perceiving them, should escape under cover of the night. The Persians had already boasted that not even the torch-bearer* should escape them.

* Before trumpets were used in armies the signal for battle was given by a torch. Those who carried it were sacred to Mars: they advanced at the head of armies, and in the interval between them they dropped their torch, and retired without molestation. The armies engaged; and even if a whole army was destroyed, they spared the life of the torch-bearer, because he was sacred to Mars: thence came a proverb applicable to total defeats, "Not even the torch-bearer has escaped." Herodotus is the first author where we meet with this expression, which afterward became so familiar, that it passed into a proverb.—*Larcher*.

It is probable that in the time of Homer no signals for battle were in use, as we find no mention of any throughout his works: in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we find torches placed on the tops of the hills to give intelligence of certain events. Modern signals for battle are, by land, drums and trumpets; by sea they are more various, and are sometimes given by cannon, lights, sails, and colours. The Romans, in addition to the shout with which all nations have been described as commencing an engagement, violently clashed their arms together. Milton makes a happy use of this idea—

"He spake, and to confirm his words out flew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thigh

VII. With this idea they pursued the following measures: two hundred chosen vessels were detached beyond Sciathus, lest in passing round Eubœa they might be discovered by the enemy off Capharea and Geræstus, near the Euripus, meaning thus to enclose them, and commence an attack at the same time in the rear and in front. With this design the appointed squadron set sail. It was not their intention to attack the Greeks on this day, nor till a signal should be given by the detachment with which they were to act in concert. On the departure of the former an account was taken of the number of those which continued at Aphetæ.

VIII. While the Persians were thus employed, they happened to have with them Scyllias,* of Scios, the most skilful diver of his time, who in the ship-

Of mighty cherubim. The sudden blaze
Far round illuminated hell; highly they raged
Against the Highest, and fierce with grasped arms
Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance towards the vault of heaven."

* The name of this skilful diver is differently written. In an epigram of Apollonides it is Scyllos, in Pliny and Pausanias it is Scilles. Scyllias had taught his daughter Cyane the art of diving: during the tempest which surprised the Persians near Mount Pelion, they plunged together under the water, and removed the anchors which held the vessels of Xerxes, which occasioned considerable injury. By order of the amphictyons, statues were erected to the father and daughter in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The statue of Cyane was among those which, by the command of Nero, were transported to Rome.—*Larcher.*

Brydone, in his entertaining tour through Sicily and Malta, informs us that the Sicilian authors make mention of one Colas, who, from his extraordinary skill in diving, was named Pesce, or the fish. It was said of him, that without coming at all to land, he would live for several days in the water; that he caught fish merely by his agility in the water, and that he could even walk across the straits at the bottom of the sea. One of their kings had the cruelty to propose his diving near the Gulf of Charybdis, and to tempt him threw in a golden cup. In a third attempt to gain this, it is supposed he was caught by the whirlpool, for he appeared no more.—*T*

wreck off Pelion had preserved to the Persians an immense quantity of treasure, and at the same time considerably enriched himself. This man had long intended to desert to the Greeks; but he had never before had the opportunity: he on this day effected his purpose; it is uncertain in what manner, but if what is related of him be true, it is really astonishing. It is said, that having leaped into the sea at Aphetæ, he did not rise again till he came to Artemisium; having gone a space of eighty stadia through the water. Other things are related of this man; some of which appear to be fabulous, while others are actually true. For my own part, I am inclined to the opinion that he escaped to Artemisium in a little vessel: on his arrival he informed the commanders of the shipwreck, and of the ships which had been sent round Eubœa.

IX. On this the Greeks called a council: various opinions were delivered; but it was ultimately determined to remain that day in their station, and to depart soon after midnight to meet that part of the enemy's fleet which had been sent round Eubœa. As they perceived no one advancing against them, as soon as the twilight appeared they proceeded towards the barbarians, determining to make experiment of their skill in fighting and manœuvring.

X. The commanders and forces of Xerxes, seeing them approach in so small a body, conceived them to be actuated by extreme infatuation;* and, drawing out their vessels, expected to find them an easy

* With the same contempt the French are represented to have considered the English army before the battle of Agincourt. This is expressed with the greatest possible animation by Shakespeare in his Henry V. :—

“ His numbers are so few,
His soldiers sick, and famish'd in their march;
For, I am sure, when he shall see our army,

conquest. In this they were not unreasonable ; for their fleet was superior to the Greeks, not only in number, but swiftness : in contempt, therefore, they surrounded them. There were some of the Ionians who wished well to the Greeks, and served against them with the greatest reluctance : seeing them thus encircled they were affected with much uneasiness concerning them ; not supposing that any could escape, so insignificant did they appear. There were other Ionians, to whom the seeming distress of the Greeks gave great pleasure : these contended with all exertion who should take the first Athenian vessel, in hopes of a reward from the king ; for among the barbarians greater reputation was allowed to the Athenians than to any other of the allies.

XI. The Greeks, as soon as the signal was given, turned their prows towards the barbarians, collecting their sterns into one common centre. On a second signal, though compressed within a narrow space, they attacked the enemy in front. They soon took thirty of the barbarian vessels ; among whom was Philaon, son of Chersis, and brother of Gorgus, prince of Salamis, a man very highly esteemed in the army. The first enemy's ship was taken by an Athenian ; his name was Lycomedes, the son of Æschreas, and he obtained the fame he merited. Victory alternately inclined to both parties, when they were separated by the night : the Greeks returned to Artemisium, the barbarians to Aphetæ ; the issue of the contest being very different from what they had expected. Of those Greeks who were in the service of the king, Antidorus the Lemnian was the

He'll drop his heart into the sink of fear
And, for achievement, offer us his ransom."

To the Persians, as well as to the French, the noble answer of Henry to the French herald was happily applicable.

"The man that once did sell the lion's skin
While the beast lived, was kill'd with hunting him."

only one who went over to his countrymen. The Athenians, in consideration of his conduct, assigned him some lands in Salamis.

XII. The above engagement took place in the middle of the summer. When night approached there fell a heavy storm of rain, attended with continued thunder, from Mount Pelion. The bodies of the dead, and the wrecks of the vessels floating to Aphetæ, were so involved among the prows of the ships that the oars were hardly manageable: the forces on board were seized with a violent panic, expecting that they were certainly doomed to perish. They had hardly recovered themselves from the effect of the first storm and shipwreck off Pelion when that severe battle at sea had succeeded. As soon as this last terminated they were attacked again by violent rains, a tempestuous sea, and continued thunder.

XIII. This night, however, proved still more severe to those whose business it was to make a circuit round Eubœa. The storm fell on them with the greater violence, as they were remote from land, and they perished in a miserable manner. It commenced when they were standing towards the sands of Eubœa: ignorant of their course, they were driven before the wind, and dashed against the rocks. It seemed a divine interposition that the Persian fleet should thus be rendered equal, or at least not much superior to that of the Greeks: in this manner they were destroyed on the Eubœan sands.

XIV. The barbarians at Aphetæ saw with joy the morning advance, and remained inactive, thinking it of no small moment, after their past calamities, to enjoy the present interval of tranquillity. At this juncture the Greeks were reinforced by fifty-three Athenian ships: animated by the arrival of their friends, they had still further reason to exult in the fate of those barbarians who had been ordered round Eubœa, not one of whom escaped the violence of the

storm. The Greeks, taking the opportunity of the same hour, towards the evening advanced boldly against the Cilicians: these they totally defeated, and at night returned again to Artemisium.

XV. On the third day the leaders of the barbarians did not wait for the Greeks to commence the attack; they advanced about midday, mutually encouraging each other; they could not bear to be insulted by so inferior a number, and they feared the indignation of Xerxes. It happened that these engagements by sea took place precisely at the same periods as the conflicts at Thermopylæ. The object of the sea fights was the Euripus, as that of the battles by land was the passage of Thermopylæ. The Greeks animated each other to prevent the entrance of the barbarians into Greece: the barbarians, in like manner, were emulous to disperse the Greeks, and become masters of these passages.

XVI. While the forces of Xerxes advanced in order of battle the Greeks remained on their station at Artemisium: the barbarians, as if to render themselves secure of them all, enclosed them in a semicircle. The Greeks met them, and a battle ensued, which was fought on both sides on equal terms. The fleet of Xerxes, from the size and number of its vessels, was much perplexed by their falling foul of each other: they fought, however, with firmness, and refused to give way; for they could not bear to be put to flight by so inferior a force. In the conflict many Grecian vessels perished, with a great number of men; but the loss of the barbarians was much greater in both: they separated as by mutual consent.

XVII. Of all those in the fleet of Xerxes, the Egyptians performed the most important service; they distinguished themselves throughout, and took five Grecian vessels, with all their men. Of the confederates, the Athenians were the most conspicuous; and of these the bravest was Clinias, son of

Alcibiades. His ship, which carried two hundred men, was equipped and manned at his own expense.

XVIII. The two fleets eagerly retired to their respective stations. The Greeks retained the wrecks of their vessels which were damaged, and possessed the bodies of their dead; but as they had suffered severely, and particularly the Athenians, the half of whose vessels were disabled, they deliberated about retiring to the remoter parts of Greece.

XIX. Themistocles had constantly believed that if he could detach from the barbarians the Ionians and Carians there would be no difficulty in overpowering the rest. While the Eubœans were assembling their cattle on the seacoast, he called the chiefs together, and informed them he had conceived a method which he believed would deprive the king of the best of his allies. At this juncture he explained himself no further; adding only his advice, that they should kill as much of the cattle of the Eubœans as they possibly could: for it was much better that their troops should enjoy them than those of the enemy. He recommended them to order their respective people to kindle a fire, and told them that he would be careful to select a proper opportunity for their departure to Greece. His advice was approved; the fires were kindled and the cattle slain.

XX. The Eubœans, paying no manner of regard to the oracle of Bacis, had neither removed any of their effects nor prepared any provision, which it certainly became those to do who were menaced by a war: their neglect had rendered their affairs extremely critical. The oracle of Bacis was to this effect:—

“ When barb'rous hosts with Byblus yoke the main,
Then drive your cattle from Eubœa's plain.”

As they made no use of this declaration, either in their present evils or to guard against the future, they might naturally expect the worst.

XXI. At this period there arrived a spy from Trachis: there was one also at Artemisium, whose name was Polyas, a native of Anticyra. He had a swift vessel with oars constantly in readiness, and was directed to communicate to those at Thermopylæ the event of any engagement which might take place at sea. There was also with Leonidas an Athenian named Abronychus, the son of Lysicles, who was prepared with a thirty-oared vessel to give immediate information to those at Artemisium of whatever might happen to the land forces. This man arrived at Artemisium, and informed the Greeks of what had befallen Leonidas and his party. On receiving his intelligence they thought it expedient not to defer their departure, but to separate in the order in which they were stationed; the Corinthians first, the Athenians last.

XXII. Themistocles, selecting the swiftest of the Athenian vessels, went with them to a watering-place, and there engraved on the rocks these words, which the Ionians, coming the next day to Artemisium, perused: "Men of Ionia, in fighting against your ancestors, and endeavouring to reduce Greece to servitude, you are guilty of injustice; take, therefore, an active part in our behalf. If this be impracticable, retire yourselves from the contest, and prevail on the Carians to do the same. If you can comply with neither of these requisitions, and are so bound by necessity that you cannot openly revolt, when the conflict begins retire; remembering that you are descended from ourselves, and that the first occasion of our dispute with the barbarians originated with you." Themistocles in writing the above had, as I should suppose, two objects in view. If what he said were concealed from the king, the Ionians might be induced to go over to the Greeks; and if Xerxes should know it, it might incline him to distrust the Ionians, and employ them no more by sea.

XXIII. When Themistocles had written the above, a man of Histiaëa hastened in a small vessel to inform the barbarians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium. Distrusting the intelligence, they ordered the man into close custody, and sent some swift vessels to ascertain the truth. These confirmed the report; and as soon as the sun rose the whole fleet in a body sailed to Artemisium: remaining here till midday, they proceeded to Histiaëa: they then took possession of the city of the Histiaëans, and overran part of Hellopia, and all the coast of Histiaëotis.

XXIV. While his fleet continued at Histiaëotis, Xerxes, having prepared what he intended concerning the dead, sent to them a herald. The preparations were these: Twenty thousand men had been slain at Thermopylæ; of these one thousand were left on the field; the rest were buried in pits sunk for the purpose: these were afterward filled up, and covered with leaves, to prevent their being perceived by the fleet. The herald, on his arrival at Histiaëa, assembled the forces, and thus addressed them: "Xerxes, the king, oh allies! permits whoever chooses it to leave his post, and see in what manner he contends with those foolish men, who had hoped to overcome him."

XXV. Immediately on this declaration scarce a boat remained behind, so many were eager to see the spectacle; coming to the spot, they beheld the bodies of the dead. Though a number of helots were among them, they supposed that all whom they saw were Lacedæmonians and Thespians. This subterfuge of Xerxes did not deceive those who beheld it; it could not fail of appearing exceedingly ridiculous to see a thousand Persian bodies on the field, and four thousand Greeks crowded together on one spot. After a whole day had been thus employed, the troops returned on the following one to

the fleet at Histiaæa, and Xerxes with his army proceeded on their march.

XXVI. A small number of Arcadians deserted to the Persian army: they were destitute of provisions, and wished to be employed. Being introduced to the royal presence, and interrogated by several Persians, and by one in particular, concerning the Greeks, and how they were then employed: "At present," they replied, "they are celebrating the olympic games, and beholding gymnastic and equestrian exercises." Being a second time asked what the prize was for which they contended, they answered, "An olive garland." On this occasion Tigranes, the son of Artabanus, having expressed himself in a manner which proved great generosity of soul, was accused by the king of cowardice. Hearing that the prize was not money, but a garland, he exclaimed before them all, "What must those men be, oh Mardonius! against whom you are conducting us, who contend not for wealth, but for virtue!"

XXVII. After the above calamity at Thermopylæ the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocæans, with whom they had before been at enmity, but particularly so after their last overthrow. Some years antecedent to this expedition of the king, the Thessalians in a body, in conjunction with their allies, had attacked the Phocæans, but had been driven back and roughly handled. The Phocæans, being surrounded at Parnassus, happened to have with them Tellias*

* He was the chief of the family of the Telliadæ, in which the art of divination was hereditary. In gratitude for the victory which they obtained through his means, the Phocæans made a statue of Tellias, which they sent to Delphi, with those of the chiefs and heroes of their country.—*Larcher*.

Compare the account here given by Herodotus with Pausanias, l. x. c. i., and the Stratagemata of Polyænus. See also Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.

To revenge the above-mentioned murder of their hostages, the Thessalians marched against the Phocæans, determining to spare no men that were of age, and to sell the women and chil-

of Eleum, the soothsayer, at whose instigation they concerted the following stratagem: They selected six hundred of their bravest men, whose persons and arms they made white with chalk; they thus sent them against the Thessalians, under cover of the night, commanding them to put every one to death who was not whited like themselves. The Thessalian outposts, who first saw them, conceived them to be something supernatural. These communicated their panic to the body of the army; in consequence of which the Phoceans slew four thousand, and carried away their shields: half of these shields were consecrated at Abas, and half at Delphi. A tenth part of the money which resulted from this victory was applied to erect the large statues which are to be seen round the tripod before the temple of Delphi: an equal number were erected at Abas.

XXVIII. The Phoceans thus treated the Thessalian foot, by whom they had been surrounded: their horse, which had made incursions into their country, they effectually destroyed. At the entrance to Phocis, near Hyampolis, they sunk a deep trench; into which having thrown a number of empty casks, they covered them with earth to the level of the common ground. They then waited to receive the attack of the Thessalians: these advancing, as if to capture

dren for slaves. Diaphantus, governor of Phocis, on hearing this, persuaded his countrymen to go and meet the Thessalians, and to collect their women and children in one place, round whom they were to pile combustible materials, and to place a watch, who, if the Phoceans should be defeated, were to set fire to the pile. To this one person objected, saying the women ought to be consulted on the business. The women hearing of this, assembled together, and not only agreed to it, but highly applauded Diaphantus for proposing it: it is also said that the children also met together and resolved on the same thing. The Phoceans afterward engaging the enemy at Cleon, a place in Hyampolis, were victorious. The Greeks called this resolution of the women *aponoia*, desperation. The greatest feast of the Phoceans is that which they celebrated at Hyampolis, and called *Elaphebolia*, in commemoration of this victory.

the Phoceans, fell in among the casks, by which the legs of their horses were broken.

XXIX. These two disasters had so much exasperated the Thessalians that they sent a herald to say thus to the Phoceans: "As you are now, oh Phoceans! rendered wiser by experience, it becomes you to acknowledge yourselves our inferiors. When we formerly thought it consistent to be united with the Greeks we were always superior to you: we have now so much influence with the barbarians that it is in our power to strip you of your country, and reduce you to slavery. We are nevertheless willing to forget past injuries, provided you will pay us fifty talents: on these terms we engage to avert the evils which threaten your country."

XXX. Such was the application of the Thessalians to the Phoceans, who alone of all the people of this district did not side with the Medes; and for no other reason, as far as I am able to conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians. If the Thessalians had favoured the Greeks, the Phoceans I believe would have attached themselves to the Medes. The Phoceans, in reply, refused to give the money: they had the same opportunity, they added, of uniting with the Medes as the Thessalians, if they wished to change their sentiments; but they expressed themselves unalterably reluctant to desert the cause of Greece.

XXXI. This answer of the Phoceans so irritated the people of Thessaly that they offered themselves as guides to the barbarian army, which they conducted from Trachis to Doris. The passage of this district is not more than thirty stadia in extent; it is situate between Melias and Phocis, and was before called Dryopis. The Dorians are the original and principal people of the Peloponnesus. The barbarians penetrated into Doria, but without committing any devastations. The Thessalians did not wish

them to commit any violence here; and indeed the inhabitants had embraced the interest of the Medes.

XXXII. The barbarians passed from Doris into Phocis, but did not make themselves masters of the persons of the inhabitants. Of these some had taken refuge on the summits of Parnassus,* at a place called Tithorea, near the city Neon, capable of containing a great number of people. A great number had fled to Amphissa, a town of the Ozolæ Locrians, beyond the plain of Crisæum. The barbarians effectually overran Phocis, to which the Thessalians conducted them: whatever they found they destroyed with fire and sword, and both the cities and sacred temples were burned.

XXXIII. Proceeding along the river Cephissus, they extended their violence throughout Phocis. On one side they burned the city Drymon; on the other, Charadra, Erochos, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedieas, Triteas, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamios, and Abas. At this last place is an edifice sacred to Apollo, abounding in wealth, and full of various treasures and offerings. Here, as now, was an oracle. This temple, having plundered, they set on fire. They pursued the Phoceans, and overtook some of them near the mountains; many of their

* This celebrated mountain had a forked summit with two vertices; of these one was sacred to Apollo, the other to Bacchus. See Jodrell on Euripides, p. 19. Sir George Wheeler, in his *Travels into Greece*, has given an engraving of this poetical circumstance, so often celebrated by the Greek and Roman poets; and he observes that the high cliffs seem to end in two points from the town of Delphi. He also adds that there is a fountain with a very plentiful source of water continually flowing out from a cavity close to this mountain, which by the marble steps leading to it should be the fountain Castalia. Lucan observes that at the time of the deluge Parnassus was the only mountain, and that too with one of its tops only, which projected above the water.

Sir George Wheeler says: "I esteem this mountain not only the highest in all Greece, but one of the highest in all the world, and not inferior to Mount Cenis among the Alps."

female captives died of the violence with which they were treated.

XXXIV. Passing the Parapotamians, they came to the Paropeans: at this place the army was divided into two bodies; of which the one most numerous and powerful proceeded towards Athens, entering Bœotia through the Orchomenian territories. The Bœotians in general had taken part with the Medes. Alexander, with the view of preserving the Bœotian cities, and of convincing Xerxes that the nation were really attached to him, had stationed a Macedonian detachment in each. This was the line of march pursued by one part of the barbarians.

XXXV. The other division, keeping Parnassus to the right, advanced under the conduct of their guides to the temple of Delphi. Whatever they met in their march belonging to the Phoceans they totally laid waste, burning the towns of the Paropeans, Daulians, and Æolians. They proceeded in this direction, after separating from the main army, with the view of plundering the temple of Delphi, and of presenting its treasures to the king. I have been informed that Xerxes had a more intimate knowledge of the treasures which this temple contained than of those which he had left in his own palace; many having made it their business to inform him of its contents, and more particularly of the offerings of Cræsus, the son of Alyattes.

XXXVI. The Delphians, on hearing this, were struck with the greatest consternation; and applying to the oracle, desired to be instructed whether they should bury the sacred treasures in the earth, or remove them to some other place. They were ordered not to remove them, as the deity was able to protect what belonged to him; their sole care, therefore, was employed about themselves, and they immediately removed their wives and children into Achaia. Of themselves, the greater part fled to the

summits of Parnassus, and to the Corycian cave;* others took refuge at Amphissa, in Locria. Excepting sixty men, with the principal priest, the city of Delphi was entirely deserted.

XXXVII. When the barbarians approached, and were in sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, observed that the sacred arms, which had ever been preserved in the sanctuary, and which it was impious to touch, were removed† to the outward front of the temple: he hastened to acquaint those Delphians who remained with the prodigy. The enemy continued to advance; and when they came to the temple of Minerva Pronea more portentous appearances were seen. It might

* This was at the base of Mount Corycus, and said by Pausanias to have been of vast extent: it was sacred to the muses, who from thence were called *Nymphæ Corycides*.

† It should seem that in the countries of the East subterraneous caves were very frequent, and used by shepherds to sleep in, or as folds for their flocks in the evening. The Syrian coast, or rather the mountains on this coast, are remarkable for the number of caves in them.

We find in the History of the Croisades, by the Archbishop of Tyre, that Baldwin the First presented himself, with some troops which he had got together, before Ascalon; that the citizens were afraid to venture out to fight with him. On which, finding it would be to no advantage to continue there, he ranged about the plains between the mountains and the sea, and found villages, whose inhabitants, having left their houses, had retired with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into *subterraneous caves*.—*T.*

† A little before the battle of Leuctra, it was said that the temples opened of themselves, and that the arms which were in the temple of Hercules disappeared, as if Hercules himself was gone to be present at that engagement. But many did not scruple to say that these miracles were contrived by the magistrates.—*Xenophon*.

Julius Obsequens, in his enumeration of the Roman prodigies, says that, A. U. 652, *Hastæ Martis in regia sua sponte motæ*—The spears of Mars, preserved in the palace, moved of their own accord. Among the prognostics which preceded the assassination of Cæsar, Virgil mentions the sound of arms heard all over Germany.—*T.*

be thought sufficiently wonderful that the arms should spontaneously have removed themselves to the outward part of the temple; but what afterward happened was yet more astonishing. As the barbarians drew near the temple of Minerva Pronea, a storm of thunder burst on their heads; two immense fragments of rock were separated from the tops of Parnassus, which, rolling down with a horrid noise, destroyed a vast multitude. At the same time there proceeded from the shrine of the goddess loud and martial shouts.

XXXVIII. This accumulation of prodigies impressed so great a terror on the barbarians, that they fled in confusion. The Delphians perceiving this, descended and slew a great number. They who escaped fled to Bœotia; these, as I have been informed, related that besides the above prodigies, they saw also two armed beings of more than human size, who pursued and slaughtered them.

XXXIX. The Delphians say that these two were heroes, and natives of the country, their names Phylacus and Autonus, to whom some buildings near the temple had been consecrated. That of Phylacus stands on the public road near the temple of Minerva Pronea; that of Autonus, near Castalia, beneath the Hyampean vertex. The rocky fragments which fell from Parnassus have been preserved within my remembrance near the temple of Minerva Pronea, where they first fixed themselves, after rolling through the barbarian ranks. In this manner was the enemy obliged to retreat from the temple.

XL. The Grecian fleet, after their departure from Artemisium, at the request of the Athenians, came to an anchor at Salamis. The motive of the Athenians in soliciting this, was to have the opportunity of removing their wives and families from Attica, as well as to deliberate on what measures they should pursue. To this also they were further induced, because things had hitherto happened con-

trary to their expectations. They had hoped that the people of Peloponnesus, in one collected body, would wait the approach of the barbarians in Bœotia. Instead of which they learned they were satisfied with fortifying the isthmus of the Peloponnesus with a wall, careful of their own security alone. The Athenians were induced, in consequence of this intelligence, to entreat the allies to station themselves at Salamis.

XLI. While the rest of the allies continued with the fleet, the Athenians returned to their country, where they proclaimed by a herald* that every Athenian was to preserve his family and effects by the best means in his power. The greater number took refuge at Trœzene, others fled to Ægina, and some to Salamis, each being anxious to save what was dear to him, and to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. It is asserted by the Athenians that there is a large serpent† in the temple of the citadel, which continually defends it. Of this they have such an entire conviction, that they offer to it every month cakes of honey: these had before always been regularly consumed; at this juncture they were untouched.‡ The priestess having made this incident known, the Athenians still more precipitately deserted the city, believing that their goddess had abandoned the citadel. Removing, therefore, all their effects, they hastened to join the fleet.

XLII. When it was generally known that those

* It was criminal at Athens to abandon their country in time of danger, or even to remove their wives and children from the perils which impended, till permission was given by a public proclamation.—*Larcher*.

† See Bryant on the subject of serpent worship. The Athenians were esteemed Serpentigenæ, and they had a tradition that the chief guardian of their Acropolis was a serpent, &c.—*T*.

‡ It appears that Themistocles was at the bottom of all these pretended miracles, and of this in particular. See his Life, as given by Plutarch.

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who had left Artemisium had taken their station at Salamis, all the vessels which were at Trœzene hastened to join them; orders having been previously issued to assemble at Pogon and Trœzene. A much larger fleet was now got together than had before fought at Artemisium, and they were manned by a greater number of different nations. Eurybides, the son of Euryclidas, who had commanded at Artemisium, was the leader also on the present occasion, though not of the blood royal. The vessels of the Athenians were the most numerous, and the best sailers.

XLIII. The fleet was thus composed: Of the people of the Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians furnished sixteen vessels, the Corinthians the same number as at Artemisium, the Sicyonians fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Trœzenians five, the Hermionians three. All these, except the Hermionians, were Dorians and Macedonians, coming from Erineus, Pindus, and Dryopis. The Hermonians are from Dryopis; they had formerly been expelled by Hercules, and the Melians of the district now called Doris. These were the forces from the Peloponnesus.

XLIV. Of those situated on the exterior continent, the Athenians alone furnished one hundred and eighty vessels, a number equal to all the rest. The Plateæans were not present at the battle of Salamis; and for this reason: when the Greeks departing from Artemisium touched at Chalcis, the Plateæans, landing on the opposite coast of Bœotia, employed themselves in removing their families and effects; in doing which they were left behind. The Athenians were Pelasgi, and called Cranai, when that region now named Greece was possessed by the Pelasgi: under Cecrops* they took the name of Cecro-

* Strabo cites Hecataeus, who said that Peloponnesus was inhabited by the Barbari before it was possessed by the Greeks;

pidæ. The title of Athenians was given them when Eretheus succeeded to the throne: their name of Ionians was derived from Ion, who had been general of the Athenian forces.

XLV. The Megareans supplied the same number of vessels as at Artemisium. The Ampraciotæ brought a reinforcement of seven ships; the Leucadii, a Dorian nation, originally from Corinth, furnished three.

XLVI. Of the people of the islands, the Æginetæ provided thirty vessels; they had others, but these were employed in defending their coasts: the thirty in which they fought at Salamis were the best equipped, and the swiftest sailers. The Æginetæ are Dorians, originally of Epidaurus, and their island was formerly called Cænone. Next to this people, the Chalcidians, as at Artemisium, supplied twenty ships, the Eretrians seven; these are Ionians. An equal number was furnished by the people of Ceos, who also are Ionians of Athenian descent. The Naxians brought four vessels: these, with the rest of the islanders, had been desired by the majority of their countrymen to take part with the Medes; but

and adds, that almost all Greece was anciently the seat of this strange people. Among other proofs, he alleges several names of persons, such as Cecrops, Codrus, &c., which he says evidently prove a foreign language.

Thucydides, l. i., at the beginning, with the scholia, says that the Ionians were called Pelargi, or Pelasgi. The name Pelargus is usually taken for a *saunterer*: this shows that it was originally used as a word of reproach. Strabo evidently derives the wandering temper of the Pelargi, or Pelasgi, from the Greek *αργος*.—T.

Ægeus of Athens, according to Androtion, was of the serpent breed: and the first king of the country is said to have been *Δρακων*, a dragon. Others make Cecrops the first who reigned: he is said to have been of a twofold nature, being formed with the body of a man blended with that of a serpent. Diodorus says that this was a circumstance deemed by the Athenians inexplicable; yet he labours to explain it by representing Cecrops as half a man and half a brute, &c.—Bryant,

they had gone over to the Greeks by the persuasion of Democritus, a man of considerable distinction, and at that time trierarch. The Naxians also are Ionians, and of Athenian origin. The Styreans appeared with the same number of ships as at Artemisium: the Cythnians* brought only one, and that of fifty oars: both of these last people are Dryopians. The allies were further assisted by the Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians, who alone, of the islanders, had refused to render the barbarian earth and water.

XLVII. All these different people who inhabit the region between the Thesproti and the river Acheron† appeared as confederates in the war. The Thesproti are contiguous both to the Ampraciotæ and Leucadii, who came on this occasion from the remotest limits of Greece. Of the nations still farther distant, the Crotoniatæ alone, with one vessel, assisted Greece in its dangers: it was commanded by Phayllus, a man who had been three times victorious‡ at the Pythian games. The Crotoniatæ are of Achæan origin.

* These islanders were of no great strength or importance. "If," says Demosthenes, "I considered you as like the Siphnians, Cythnians, or such people, I would not recommend you to adopt sentiments so elevated."—*Larcher*.

† Here Hercules descended into hell, and hither he brought back with him the dog Cerberus, whose foam overspread the country with aconitum. Adonis was celebrated for having the liberty of descending to Acheron, or the infernal regions, and of returning again at certain seasons.

The descent into hell is generally understood to be a form of admission into the mysteries, for all those more especially who endeavoured to prove themselves the most illustrious benefactors to mankind. Of these mysteries the Egyptians may perhaps be esteemed the original authors; and that the descent of their king, Rhamsinitus, to the infernal regions, is older than that of Hercules. Homer, in book x. of the *Odyssey*, enumerates Acheron among the rivers of hell, saying that the Phlegethon and Cocytus flow into it. Pope diffusely renders this the flaming gulf of Acheron: Homer says no such thing.—*T*.

‡ Pausanias says that he was twice victorious in the contests of the Pentathlon, and once in those of the Stadium.

XLVIII. The allies in general furnished triremes for the service: the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, brought vessels of fifty oars; the Melians two, the Siphnians and Seriphians one each. The Melians are of Spartan extraction; the Siphnians and Seriphians are Ionians, and descended from the Athenians. Without taking into the account these vessels of fifty oars, the fleet consisted of three hundred and seventy-eight ships.

XLIX. When all these different nations were assembled at Salamis, a council was called of their leaders. At the suggestion of Eurybiades, it was proposed that each should deliver his opinion, what place of those which they yet possessed would be most proper for a naval engagement. Attica was considered as totally lost; and the object of their deliberation was the rest of Greece. It seemed to be the opinion of the majority that they should sail to the isthmus, and risk a battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnesus; for if, it was urged, a defeat should be the issue of a contest at Salamis, they would be exposed to a siege on the island without the prospect of relief; but from the isthmus they might easily retire to their respective countries.

L. While the leaders were revolving this matter, a messenger arrived from Athens, to inform them that the barbarian had penetrated Attica, and was burning all before him. The forces under Xerxes in their passage through Bœotia had set fire to the city of the Thespians, who had retired to the Peloponnesus. They had also burned the city of the Platæans, and proceeding onward, were now about to ravage Athens. They had so treated Thespia and Platæa, because informed by the Thebans that these places were hostile to them.

LI. After passing the Hellespont, the barbarians had remained a month in its vicinity before they advanced: three more were employed in their march to Attica, where they arrived when Calliades was

chief magistrate. They found the city deserted : an inconsiderable number remained in the temple, with the treasurers of the temple and a few of the meaner sort, who with a palisade of wood attempted to prevent the approach of the enemy to the citadel. These had not gone to Salamis, being deterred partly by their indigence, and partly from their confidence in the declaration of the oracle, that a wall of wood would prove invincible. This they referred not to the ships, but to the defence of wood, which on this occasion they had formed.

LII. The Persians encamped on the hill opposite the citadel, which the Athenians call the hill of Mars,* and thus commenced their attack : They shot against the intrenchment of wood arrows wrapped in tow, and set on fire. The Athenians, although reduced to the last extremity, and involved in the fire which had caught their barricade, obstinately refused to listen to conditions, and would not hear the Pisistratidæ, who on certain terms invited them to surrender. They resisted to the last ; and when the Persians were just about to enter, they rolled down on them stones of an immense size. Xerxes, not able to force the place, was for a long time exceedingly perplexed.

LIIL In the midst of their embarrassment, the bar-

* On this place was held the celebrated court of the areopagus, of which, as it bore so high a rank in the constitution of the Athenian republic, the following succinct account from Gillies may be acceptable :—

“The court of the areopagus, originally intrusted with the criminal jurisdiction, assumed an extensive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens : it consisted only of such magistrates as had discharged with approbation the duties of their respective offices. The members were named for life ; and as from the nature of the institution they were generally persons of a mature age, of an extensive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had seen the vanity of ambition, they were well qualified to restrain the impetuous passions of the multitude, and to stem the torrent of popular phrensy.”

barians discovered a resource ; indeed the oracle had declared that whatever the Athenians possessed on the continent should be reduced to the power of the Persians. In the front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the regular ascent, there was a cragged and unguarded pass, by which it was not thought possible that any man could force his way. Here, however, some of the enemy mounted near the temple of Aglauros, the daughter of Cecrops. As soon as the Athenians discovered them, part threw themselves over the wall and were killed, others retired into the building. The Persians who entered forced their way to the gates, threw them open, and put the suppliants to death who had there taken refuge ; they afterward plundered and set fire to the citadel.

LIV. As soon as Xerxes found himself entire master of Athens, he sent a horseman to Susa, to inform Artabanus of his success. On the following day he called together the Athenian exiles who were with him, and ordered them to go to the citadel, and there sacrifice according to the custom of their country. He was probably induced to this from some nocturnal vision, or from some compunction on account of his having burned the temple. The exiles did as they were commanded.

LV. I will explain my reason for introducing this circumstance : There is in the citadel a temple sacred to Erectheus,* who is said to have been the

* See book v., c. lxxxii. Not only Erectheus called himself the offspring of the earth, but, as I have before shown, all the Athenians also. In his temple were three altars, on the first of which they sacrificed to Neptune and Erectheus, from which Neptune was called Erecthean. See Lycophron, v. 158.

Erectheus was deified, because in a contest with Eumolpus, prince of Thrace, he was told by the oracle that if he would sacrifice his daughter before he engaged the enemy, he should be victorious ; he did so, and succeeded. See the story related, *Lycurg. contra Leocrat.* Taylor's edit. 217.—T.

offspring of the earth : in this is an olive* and a sea,† believed to have been placed there by Neptune and Minerva, in testimony of their dispute‡ concerning this country : this olive the barbarians had burned with the temple. The Athenians who had been sent by the king to perform the ceremonies of their religion, which was two days after the place had been burned, observed that this olive had put forth a new shoot, a cubit§ in length.

LVI. When the Greeks at Salamis heard what had befallen the citadel of Athens, they were seized with consternation ; many of the leaders, without waiting the result of the council as to their future conduct, went hastily on board, hoisted their sails, and prepared to fly. It was instantly determined by those who remained that they must only risk an en-

* This, according to Pliny, was said to exist in his time ; it was in the citadel : and because goats destroy the olive and make it barren, it was forbidden to bring goats near the citadel, except once a year for the necessary sacrifice.—*Larcher*.

Some oil made of this olive, which was sacred to Minerva, was given as a reward to those who conquered in the Panathenæa.—*T*.

† This was a cistern, into which, by a subterraneous canal, sea water was conducted.

“ In itself,” says Pausanias, “ there is nothing remarkable ; but what deserves to be related is, that when the south wind blows, a noise is heard like that of agitated waves ; and on the stone is seen the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the dispute between Minerva and Neptune concerning Attica.” See *Pausanias*, l. i., c. 26.

The same was also said to be in the temple of Neptune Hippias, near Mantinea, and at Mylasæ, a town of Caria, although the gate of this last place was eighty furlongs from the sea, and Mantinea was so far inland that the water of the sea could not come there unless by a miracle.—*Larcher*.

‡ This is said to have happened in the reign of Cecrops. Neptune coming to Athens, struck with his trident the midst of the citadel, from which sprang a horse ; Minerva produced an olive : Jupiter assigned the patronage of the town to Minerva.

§ Pausanias says two cubits. “ I suppose,” says *Larcher*, “ the miracle increased with the time.”

gement at sea near the isthmus. At the approach of night they left the assembly, and returned to their ships.

LVII. As soon as Themistocles had retired to his vessel, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, came to ask him what had been the determination of the council. When he was informed of their resolution to sail to the isthmus, and come to battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnesus, he expressed himself as follows : " If the allies," said he, " shall once leave Salamis, you will never have the opportunity of fighting for your country. The fleet will certainly separate, and each nation return to their respective homes, and neither Eurybiades nor any one else will be able to prevent them : thus Greece will perish from the want of judicious counsel. Make haste, therefore, and endeavour to counteract what has been determined ; if it be possible, prevail on Eurybiades to change his purpose and continue here."

LVIII. This advice was so agreeable to Themistocles, that without returning an answer, he went to the vessel of Eurybiades. As soon as he saw him, he expressed his desire to speak with him on what was of importance to the common interest : he was desired to come on board, and declare his sentiments. Themistocles, seated by him, related what had been said by Mnesiphilus, as from himself, which he so enforced by other arguments, that Eurybiades was brought over to his opinion, and persuaded to leave the ship, and again assemble the leaders.

LIX. As soon as they were met, and before Eurybiades had explained why he had called them together, Themistocles spake at some length, and with great apparent zeal. Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian leader, interrupted him : " Themistocles," said he, " at the public games they who rise before their time are beaten." " True," replied Themistocles, " but they who are left behind are never crowned."

LX. Having thus gently reproved the Corinthian, he turned to Eurybiades: he did not repeat what he had said to him before, that as soon as the fleet should leave Salamis the confederates would disperse; for as they were present he did not think it proper to accuse any one. He had recourse to other arguments: "The safety of Greece," said he, "depends on you; whether, listening to me you come to an engagement here, or, persuaded by those who are of a contrary opinion, you shall conduct the fleet to the isthmus; hear the arguments on both sides, and then determine. If we fight at the isthmus, we must fight in the open sea, where, on account of our heavier vessels and inferior number, we shall have every disadvantage: add to this, that if everything else succeed to our wishes, we shall yet lose Salamis, Megara, and Ægina. The land forces of the enemy will accompany their fleet, which you will thus draw to the Peloponnesus, and involve all Greece in danger. By adopting what I recommend you will have these advantages: by fighting within a narrower space of sea, our small force will be better able to contend with the greater armament of the enemy, and according to the common chances of war, we shall have decisively the advantage. For us it must be most eligible to contend in a small space, as for them to fight in a large one. Thus also will Salamis be preserved, where our wives and children remain, and thus too the very advantage of which you yourselves are solicitous will be secured. By remaining here you will as effectually defend the Peloponnesus, as by sailing to the isthmus; and it will be extremely injudicious to draw the enemy there. If, as I sincerely wish, we shall obtain the victory, the barbarians will neither advance to the isthmus, nor penetrate beyond Attica: they will retire in confusion. We shall thus be benefited by preserving Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, where the oracle has promised we shall be superior to our en-

omy. They whose deliberations are regulated by reason* generally obtain their wishes, while they who are rash in their decisions must not expect the favour of the gods."

LXI. Themistocles was a second time interrupted by Adimantus of Corinth, who ordered him to be silent, as not having now a country; and he added, that Eurybiades could only then consistently suffer Themistocles to influence his determination when he should again have a city: this he spake in allusion to the plunder and capture of Athens. Themistocles in reply heaped many reproaches on the Corinthians, and on their leader in particular; and he further urged that they still possessed a country and a city, in effect greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred vessels† well provided with stores and men; a force which none of the Greeks would be able to resist.

LXII. He afterward proceeded to address himself to Eurybiades in particular. "If," said he, with greater earnestness, "you continue here, you will deserve our universal gratitude; if not, you will be the destroyer of Greece. In this war our fleet constitutes our last, our only resource. You may be assured that unless you accede to my advice we will take on board our families, and remove with them to Siris in Italy, which from remote times has been considered as belonging to us, and where, if the ora-

* True fortitude is seen in great exploits,
Which justice warrants, and which wisdom guides;
All else is tow'ring phrensy and distraction.—*Addison*.

† Aristotle writes, that the senate of the areopagus gave eight drachmæ to every soldier, and thus the complement of men was soon provided. Clidemnus says that this money was procured by the artifice of Themistocles: while the Athenians, says he, assembled at Piræus, to embark, the ægis of the statue of Minerva was lost. Themistocles pretending to make a search, found among the baggage an immense sum of money, which, being divided, spread abundance among their fleet.—*Larcher*.

cle may be credited, we ought to found a city. Deprived of our assistance, you will hereafter have occasion to remember my words."

LXIII. By these arguments Eurybiades was finally influenced, principally, as I should suppose, from his fears lest, if they sailed to the isthmus, they should be deserted by the Athenians, without whose aid they would be little able to contend with the enemy. He acceded, therefore, to what Themistocles proposed, and consented to stay and fight at Salamis.

LXIV. When the determination of Eurybiades was known, the confederates, wearied with altercations, prepared to engage. In this situation the morning appeared, at the dawn of which there was a convulsion of the earth, which was felt at sea. They determined, therefore, to supplicate the gods, and implore the interposition of the *Æacidæ*. This was accordingly done: after calling on all the gods, they invoked Ajax and Telamon, and despatched a vessel to *Ægina* to entreat the aid of *Æacus* and the *Æacidæ*.*

LXV. *Dicæus* the son of *Theocydes*, an Athenian exile, but of considerable reputation with the Medes, at the time when Attica was deserted by the Athenians, and wasted by the army of *Xerxes*, reported that he was with *Demaratus* of Sparta on the plains of Thria. Here he saw a dust as of an army of thirty thousand men advancing from Eleusis. While they were wondering from whence it could proceed, *Dicæus* affirmed that he heard a voice which seemed to him the mystic *Iacchus*.† *Demaratus*, being ig-

* Near the port of the island of *Ægina* there is a temple of *Venus*, and in the most conspicuous part of the city is a temple of *Æacus*, called the *Æaceim*. It is a square structure of white marble, in the entrance of which are the statues of the deputies who came to *Æacus* from all parts of Greece.

† On the 20th of the month *Boëdromion*, which answers to our October, which was the 16th day of the festival of the mysteries of *Ceres*, they carried from the *Ceramians* to *Eleusis* a

norant of the Eleusinian mysteries,* inquired the meaning of the noise which he heard. "Demaratus," answered Dicæus, "some great calamity is impending over the forces of the king: Attica being deserted, it is evidently the divinity which speaks, and is now coming from Eleusis to assist the Athenians and their allies. If this shall appear in the Peloponnesus, the king himself and the forces which are with him will be involved in the greatest danger: if it shall show itself at Salamis, the destruction of the king's fleet will probably ensue. Once

figure of Iacchus, or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle, having a torch in his hand. During the procession they sung a hymn in honour of the god, which hymn was also called Iacchus, and in which they often repeated the word Iacche.—*Larcher*.

The word Iacchus is derived, according to Eustathius *απο του ιαχου*, from bawling out. Iacchus is used by Virgil as synonymous with vinum, because Iacchus or Bacchus was the god of wine: some say he was the son of Ceres. In the mysteries here mentioned he is always joined with Ceres and Proserpine; but he is not always considered as the son of Ceres, though nursed at her breast.

The circumstance of the mystica vannus, or mystical fan, which in this solemnity was carried before the image of Iacchus, is thus curiously explained by Servius, ad Georg. i., 166. "The fan," says he, "was carried in procession before Bacchus, because they who were initiated into his mysteries are purified as corn is by the use of the fan or van."—*T*.

* I have before spoken on the subject of these mysteries; but the reader will find a far more particular and entertaining account of them in Warburton's *Divine Legation*, and in the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, vol. v., 507, &c. Warburton intimates his belief that the initiated were instructed in the unity of the Divine Being. Larcher thinks otherwise: "They might perhaps," says the learned Frenchman, "do this with respect to those whom they found inclined to believe this dogma; but they preached atheism to a select number, in whom they found a favourable disposition to receive it. The temple of Ceres, where these mysteries were celebrated, was one of the noblest in Greece; it is described by Strabo and Vitruvius. A view of it is given in the ruins of Athens; and it is described also by Chandler in his *Travels in Greece*. There were the greater and the lesser mysteries; the latter of which belonged to Proserpine only."—*T*.

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in every year the Athenians solemnize these rights to Ceres and Proserpine, when also they initiate into the mysteries such of the Greeks as may desire it. The sound which you hear is the voice of Iacchus." To this he said Demaratus made him this reply: "Make no mention of this to any one. If what you say should be communicated to the king, you will certainly lose your head, and neither myself nor any one else will be able to save you: be silent, therefore, and leave the event to the gods." He added, that after the dust and voice which they saw and heard, a cloud appeared, which directed its course towards Salamis and the Grecian fleet. From this they concluded that the armament of Xerxes would be defeated. This was reported by Dicaeus* the son of Theocydes; for the truth of which he appealed to Demaratus and others.

* On this name the following pleasant anecdote occurs in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.

"A Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendour of his name, came to Athens: as I had known him at Susa, I was his conductor to the theatre. We happened to sit near a number of Athenians who were talking together: he was anxious to know their names. 'The first,' said I, 'is called *Eudoxus*, that is, *the honourable*;' immediately my Persian made a low bow to *Eudoxus*. 'the second,' I continued, 'is named *Polycletus*, or *the very celebrated*;' another very low bow. 'Doubtless,' said he, 'these two are at the head of the republic.' 'Oh, no, they are people whom nobody knows. That third person, who seems so infirm, is called *Megasthenes*, or *the very strong*: the fat heavy man yonder is named *Prothoos*, or *the very swift*: yon melancholy fellow's name is *Epicharis*, which means *the cheerful*.' 'The sixth,' said the Persian, impatiently, 'how is he called?' '*Sostrates*, or *the saviour of the army*.' 'He has commanded then?' 'No; he has never been in the service. The seventh, yonder, who is called *Chitomachus*, which signifies *illustrious warrior*, has always been a coward, and is declared infamous. The name of the eighth is *Dicaeus*, or *the just*; a most notorious rascal.' I was going to name the ninth, when the stranger rose and said, 'How all these people disgrace their names!' 'But at least,' said I, 'you must confess that their names do not make them coxcombs.'—T.

LXVI. The naval troops of Xerxes, after being spectators of the slaughter of the Spartans, passed over from Trachis to Histiaea, where they remained three days: thence sailing down the Euripus, in three more they came to Phalerum. The land and sea forces were neither of them, as far as I can determine, less in number when they laid waste Attica, than when they first arrived at Sepias and Thermopylae. To supply the loss of those who perished from the storm, and who were slain at Thermopylae and Artemisium, there arrived from those nations which had not yet declared for the king reinforcements of Melians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bactrians, who, except the Thespians and Platæans, joined him with all their troops. To these may be added the Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, with all the people of the islands, except the five states before specified. The farther the Persians penetrated into Greece, by the greater numbers were they followed.

LXVII. All these troops, except the Parians, assembled at Athens or at Phalerum. The Parians* staid at Cynthus, waiting the event of the war. At this juncture Xerxes visited his fleet in person, to confer with the leaders, and to acquaint himself with their sentiments. On his arrival he presided at a council where the princes of the different nations and the several commanders were placed according to the rank which Xerxes had given them. The Prince of Sidon first, the Prince of Tyre† next, and

* The Parians shared with the Persians the disgrace of the battle of Marathon; and their perfidy to the Greeks became proverbial.—T.

† In Isaiah, Tyre is called the daughter of Tarshish; in the same, Tyre is called the daughter of Sidon, I presume, on different accounts. The Syrians were originally a colony of the Sidonians, and Sidon, consequently, the mother city of Tyre. By Tarshish, the Seventy universally understand Carthage: but how then could Tyre be called the daughter of Tarshish? for Carthage was the daughter of Tyre.

Herodotus, b. ii, ch. xliv, speaks of the Hercules of Tyre. It

the rest in order. The king then commissioned Mardonius to inquire of them individually whether they were willing to engage the enemy.

has been conjectured by many learned men that this could have been no other than the Israelitish Samson. That this is very probable, the reader may perhaps be inclined to think from these among other reasons :—

With the story of Samson the Tyrians might easily become acquainted at Joppa, a seaport belonging to the tribe of Dan; but more especially from those Danites who removed to Laish, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and who, as Ezekiel informs us, had great commerce with the Tyrians. These Danites came from Zorah and Eshtaol, where Samson was born and lived, and would not fail of promulgating and magnifying the exploits of their own hero. I am aware how rash it is to pronounce a sameness of person from a likeness of certain corresponding circumstances in the actions of men; but there are certain particulars so striking, first, in the account given of this Tyrian Hercules by Herodotus; and secondly, in the ritual prescribed for his worship, that where we can prove nothing by more solid argument, conjectures so founded may be permitted to have some weight. The story of Samson will account for the two pillars set up in the temple of Hercules, if we consider them as placed there in commemoration of the greatest of Samson's exploits. The various circumstances which Herodotus makes peculiar to the Tyrian Hercules, however disguised, are all reducible and relative to this last action of Samson. 1. Hercules being apprehended by the Egyptians, was led in procession as a sacrifice to Jupiter; and the Philistines proclaimed a feast to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god, and to rejoice, because Samson was delivered into their hands. 2. While Hercules stood at the altar, he remained quiet for a season; and so did Samson when his strength was departed from him. 3. But in a short time Hercules returned to his strength, and slew all the Egyptians. Concerning the ritual used in the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, Bochart remarks there were many things in it not practised elsewhere. Let the reader judge from what follows whether they do not seem borrowed from the Levitical law, or grounded on what the Scripture relates of Samson. The total disuse of images, the prohibition of swine in sacrifice, the habit of the priest, his embroidered stole, &c., and naked feet, the strict chastity exacted of him, the fire ever burning on the altar, are all of them precepts which Moses delivered. Why may we not add that the exclusion of women from the temple, and the shaven head of the priests, were intended to brand the treacherous behaviour of Delilah, and to commemorate the loss

LXVIII. Mardonius began with the Prince of Sidon, and from him went the rest; and they were all of opinion that a battle should be fought; but Artemisia thus delivered her sentiments: "Mardonius, deliver this my opinion to the king, whose exertions in the battle of Eubœa were neither the meanest nor the least; I think myself, therefore, justified in declaring what I think will be most to your interest to pursue. I would advise you to spare your ships, and not risk a battle. These men by sea are as much superior to yours as men are to women: but after all, what necessity is there for your hazarding an engagement? You are already in possession of Athens, the avowed object of this expedition; the rest of Greece is already your own, and no one resists you. They who opposed you have met the fate they merited. I will now tell you how the affairs of your adversaries are circumstanced: if you do not urge a naval engagement, but will order your vessels either to remain here, or sail to the Peloponnesus, all your wishes will infallibly be accomplished. The Greeks will not long be able to oppose you: you will oblige them to separate, and retire to their respective homes. I am well informed, that in the island where they are they have no supply of provisions; and if you shall enter the Peloponnesus, it is not to be supposed that these remaining here will risk a battle for the sake of the Athenians. But if you determine to fight them by sea, I seriously fear that a defeat of your fleet will be added to that of your land forces. Let this also be impressed on your mind, that the best of men have sometimes the worst of servants; and that bad men are frequently served with fidelity. You, oh king! are one of the

of Samson's locks? Appian, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus, acknowledge these to have been Phœnician rites, and different from any observed among the Greeks; and it is well known that this *singularity* was a principal point intended by the ritual of Moses.—*T.*

best of men ; but you have among your dependants Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians, from whom no good can be expected."

LXIX. They who wished well to Artemisia were apprehensive that her speaking thus decisively to Mardonius against risking a battle would bring on her some mark of the king's indignation : her enemies, on the contrary, who wished to see her disgraced, and who were jealous of her favour with the king, were delighted in the confident expectation that her freedom of speech would prove her ruin ; but Xerxes, after hearing the opinions of the council, was particularly pleased with that of Artemisia : he had esteemed her before, but he was on this occasion lavish in her praise. He nevertheless determined to comply with the decision of the majority ; and as he imputed the former ill success at Eubœa to his being absent, he resolved to be a spectator of the battle of Salamis.

LXX. When orders were given for the fleet to depart, they proceeded towards Salamis, and deliberately ranged themselves in order of battle. As the approach of evening prevented their then coming to an encounter, they prepared themselves for the following day. In the mean while a general consternation was impressed on the Greeks, and in particular on those of the Peloponnesus, who, conceiving that their fighting at Salamis was solely on account of the Athenians, believed that a defeat would occasion their being blockaded in the island, and would leave their own country totally defenceless.

LXXI. On the very same night the land forces of the barbarians advanced to the Peloponnesus, though every possible effort had been made to check their proceeding farther on the continent. As soon as the Peloponnesians had heard of the ruin of Leonidas and his party at Thermopylæ, they assembled at the isthmus all the forces they could collect from their different cities, under the conduct of Cleombrotus,

the son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas. Encamped here, their first care was to fortify the pass of Sciron;* they then, after consulting on the subject, proceeded to defend the whole of the isthmus by a wall. This was soon finished, as not one of so many thousands was inactive; for without intermission, either by night or by day, they severally brought stones, bricks, timber, and bags of sand.

LXXII. The Greeks who appeared in defence of the isthmus with their collected strength, were the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians universally, Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Træzenians, and Hermionians. All these were drawn together by the danger which menaced Greece. The rest of the Peloponnesians, although the olympic games and Carnian festivals were past, remained in careless inactivity at home.

LXXIII. The Peloponnesus is inhabited by seven different nations; two of these, the Arcadians† and Cynurians, are natives of the country, and have

* Said by Strabo to have been called from the famous robber of that name, who was remarkable for his barbarity to passengers, and who was killed by Theseus. See Lucian in *Jove Tragedo*, where we learn that at the same time Theseus destroyed two other famous robbers, whose names were Pityocampes and Cercyon. Sciron he threw into the sea, and his bones became rocks. See *Ovid, Met. vii.*, 443.—*T*.

† Eustathius, in *Dion. v.*, 414, tells us that Arcadia was formerly called Gigantis, that is, the Land of Giants. It was also called Azania. Arcadia was sacred to the god Pan, who was worshipped in every corner of the country. It was celebrated for the richness of its pastures; and its inhabitants were so generally addicted to the business of feeding cattle, that Arcades and Pastores became synonymous terms, and the Bucolic verse was styled the Arcadian. Of the antiquity which this people claimed I have already spoken in a foregoing note. Some have supposed Arcadia to have been so called from Arcas, the son of Callisto, who was said to have had his name from the supposed transformation of his mother, and to have given it to Arcadia.

See what De Pauw says of the Arcadians in his *Recherches sur les Grecs*.—*T*

never changed their place of residence. The Achæians have never quitted the Peloponnesus, but simply removed from one situation to another. The four others, namely, the Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians, migrated hither. The Dorians have many famous cities; the Ætolians, Elis only; the Dryopians have Hermion and Asina, near Cardamyle, in Laconia. The Paroreatæ are all Lemnians. The Cynurians, though natives of the country, are supposed to be Ionians; but in process of time, like the Orneatæ and their neighbours, they became Dorians, and subject to the Argives.* Of all these seven nations, those only whom I have specified attached themselves to the cause of Greece; the others, if I may speak the truth, certainly favoured the Medes.

LXXIV. They who were at the isthmus exerted themselves as if everything depended on them alone, not expecting anything from the fleet. The Greeks at Salamis, hearing this, were overwhelmed with terror, not so much on their own account as on that of the Peloponnesus. They began to murmur secretly among each other, and to complain of the injudicious conduct of Eurybiades. They at length expressed their discontent aloud, and obliged a council to be called: a violent debate ensued; some were for sailing instantly to the Peloponnesus, and risking everything for its defence; urging the ab-

* Eustathius says that Apis cleared the Peloponnesus of serpents, and named it from himself Apia: he was deified, and thence called Serapis, a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Egyptians. From these serpents Argos might receive its name. See *Hesychius*. The frog, which was the symbol of the people of Argos, was explained to be a direction to them to keep at home; and properly enough, that they might guard the isthmus, prevent a surprise, and be a constant garrison to the Peloponnesus. It was an allusion also, I believe, to their old name *Leleges*. *Ααλαγες*, says *Hesychius*, is the frog of a green colour. The Spartan coin, or that of the Peloponnesus, was a tortoise, the symbol of a housekeeper.—*T*.

surdity of staying where they were to contend for a country already captured. The Athenians, with those of Ægina and Megara, thought it most advisable to fight where they were.

LXXV. Themistocles, seeing himself overpowered by those of the Peloponnesus, retired privately from the council: he immediately despatched a messenger to the enemy's fleet, with instructions what to say. The man's name was Sicinnus, a domestic, and the tutor of his children, whom Themistocles afterward caused to be made a citizen of Thespia, and who became very opulent. Directing his course to the leaders of the barbarian fleet, he thus addressed them: "The Athenian leader, who in reality is attached to the king, and who wishes to see the Greeks in subjection to your power, has sent me thus privately to you: a consternation has seized the Greeks, and they are preparing to fly: an opportunity is now afforded you of performing a splendid action, unless you suffer it through negligence to escape you. They are divided among themselves, and incapable of further resistance. You will soon see those who favour, and who are inclined to oppose you, in hostilities with each other." Having said this, Sicinnus departed.

LXXVI. The barbarians, confiding in this intelligence, passed over a large body of Persians to the small island of Psittalia, between Salamis and the continent. About midnight the western division of their fleet advanced towards Salamis, meaning to surround it. The ships also which lay off Ceos and Cynosura removed, and occupied the whole narrow sea as far as Munychia. They drew out their fleet in this manner to cut off from the Greeks the possibility of retreat; and that, thus enclosed at Salamis, they might suffer vengeance for the battle of Artemisium. Their view in sending a body of forces to Psittalia was this: this island was contiguous to the spot where the battle must of necessity take place:

as, therefore, such vessels and men as were injured in the fight must endeavour to take refuge here, they might here preserve their own and destroy the forces of the enemy. The measure was pursued privately and unperceived by the enemy ; to accomplish which the whole night was employed without any interval of rest.

LXXVII. After reflecting on this subject the truth of the oracular prediction appears incontestible : for who would attempt to contradict a declaration so obvious as the following ?

“ On Dian’s shore, and Cynosura’s coasts,
When ev’ry strait is fill’d with naval hosts ;
When hostile bands, inspired with frantic hope,
In Athens give wide-wasting fury scope ;
Then shall the youthful son of daring Pride
The vengeance of celestial wrath abide,
Fierce though he be, and confident of pow’r,
For arms with arms shall clash, and blood shall show’r
O’er all the sea : while liberty and peace
From Jove and Victory descend to Greece.”

After the above explicit declaration from Bacis I shall neither presume to question the authority of oracles myself, nor patiently suffer others to do so.

LXXVIII. Disputes still continued to run high among the leaders of Salamis, who were not at all conscious of their being surrounded by the barbarians. They presumed that the enemy remained on the very same post in which they had observed them during the day.

LXXIX. While they were debating in council Aristides, son of Lysimachus, arrived at Ægina ; he was an Athenian, and had been banished* by a vote

* Literally, ostracised. Everybody knows that ostracism was the banishing a person by writing his name on a shell, in Greek *ostrakon*. It was not a dishonourable banishment, but rather a mark of popularity, and generally inflicted on the great and powerful. By this, Themistocles, Aristides, Thucydides, and Alcibiades were banished.

By ostracism, a person was banished for ten years : a similar

of the people, although my information induces me to consider him as the most excellent* and upright of his fellow-citizens. He immediately went to the assembly, and called out Themistocles, who was not his friend, but his particular enemy. The greatness of the impending danger prevailed over everything else: he called him out to confer with him: he had heard how anxious the Peloponnesians were to return with the fleet to the isthmus; accordingly, when Themistocles appeared he spoke to him thus: "It would become us at any time, and more particularly at the present, to contend which of us can best serve our country. I have to inform you, that whatever the Peloponnesians may now urge with respect to retiring to the isthmus can be of no signification. I can assure you, from my own observation, that the Corinthians, and Eurybiades himself, could not now sail thither if they would; we are on all sides surrounded by the enemy. Return, therefore, and tell this to the assembly."

LXXX. "What you tell me," replied Themistocles, "I consider as particularly happy for us all. The thing which I most ardently wished to happen

mode of banishment was adopted at Syracuse, and called *petalism*, where the people wrote the name on a leaf, *pétalon*. By *petalism* a man was banished for five years only.

Perpetual exile at Athens was the punishment of sacrilege and high treason.—*T*.

* *Ælian* gives a catalogue of Greeks who were alike remarkable for their extraordinary merit and extreme poverty. *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Epaminondas*, *Pelopidas*, *Lamachus*, *Socrates*, and *Ephialtes*. With respect to the dispute between *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, the same authority informs us that they were educated together under the same preceptor, and that when children they were notorious for their dislike of and quarrels with each other. *Plutarch* says that one among other reasons for the inveterate hatred which prevailed between them, was their having an attachment to the same youth.

The circumstance of their mutually laying aside their animosities when their country was in danger has obtained them everlasting glory.—*T*.

you have beheld: know, then, that this motion of the Medes is the consequence of my measures, it appearing to me essential that those Greeks who were reluctant to fight should be compelled to do so; but as you come to tell us what promises so much good, tell it yourself. If I shall inform the assembly of what you say I shall obtain no credit; nor will they suppose that the barbarians are posted as they are. Enter, therefore, yourself, and inform them how things are. If they believe you, it will be well; but if not, the event will be the same. For if, as you say, we are surrounded, there exists no opportunity to retreat."

LXXXI. Aristides, entering the council, repeated what he had before said; that he was come from Ægina, and had passed with great difficulty through the enemy's forces; that the Grecian fleet was entirely surrounded; and that it became them to prepare for their defence. Aristides, as soon as he had spoken, retired. Fresh altercations now again arose among the leaders; the greater part of whom refused to credit what they had heard.

LXXXII. While they continued still to doubt, a trireme of Tenians deserted to them: they were commanded by Parætiæus, the son of Sosimenes; and their intelligence put the matter beyond all dispute. In gratitude for this service the names of the Tenians were inserted on the tripod consecrated at Delphi, among those who repelled the barbarians. This vessel, which joined them at Salamis,* added to one

* Attica was surrounded by islands; but except this of Salamis, they were in general barren and uninhabited. Salamis is praised in high terms by Euripides, as abounding in honey and olives. Euripides and Solon were both born here. The trophies of the battle of Salamis, says De Pauw, cease to interest us; but the Iphigenia in Tauris and the legislation of Solon can never be forgotten.

To make a circuit of the district of Attica, it was advised to embark at Salamis, double the promontory of Sunium, and

of Lemnos, which before came over to them at Artemisium, made the exact number of the Grecian ships three hundred and eighty. There were only three hundred and seventy-eight before.

LXXXIII. The Greeks, having all their doubts removed by the Tenians, prepared seriously for battle. At the dawn of morning all was in readiness. Themistocles said everything which might avail to animate his troops. The principal purport of his speech was a comparison between great and pusillanimous actions; explaining how much the activity and genius of man could effect, and exhorting them to have glory in view. As soon as he had finished, orders were given to embark. At this juncture the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ returned from Ægina, and soon afterward all the Grecian fleet were under sail.

LXXXIV. As soon as they began to move the barbarians rushed upon them. While the Greeks lay on their oars, and seemed rather inclined to retire, Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, darted forward and attacked the enemy: when he was so involved with his opponent as to be unable to separate, the rest came to his assistance, and a promiscuous engagement ensued. Thus, according to the Athenians, the battle began. The people of Ægina say that the engagement was begun by the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ. It is also affirmed that a female figure was visible to the Greeks; and that in a voice sufficiently loud to be heard by them all, it exclaimed, "Insensate men, how long will ye remain inactive on your oars?"

LXXXV. The Athenians were opposed to the Phœnicians, who occupied the division towards Eleusis* and the west: the Lacedæmonians com-

landing in the Oropian territories, proceed to the mouth of the Asopus.—T.

* So called from Eleusis the son of Mercury. The Eleusinians submitted voluntarily to the dominion of Athens, on

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bated the Ionians, who were in the division towards the Piræus* and the east. A small number of these, at the suggestion of Themistocles, made no remarkable exertions: but with the majority it was otherwise. I am able to mention the names of several trierarchs who overpowered and took Grecian vessels; but I shall only specify Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histiseus, both of them Samians. I mention these, because on account of the service which he on this occasion performed, Theomestor was made prince of Samos by the Persians. Phylacus also had his name written, as deserving of the royal favour, and was presented with a large tract of land. They who merit the favour of the king are in the Persian tongue called Orosangæ.

LXXXVI. A very great part of the barbarian fleet was torn in pieces at Salamis, principally by the Athenians and the people of Ægina. The event could not well be otherwise. The Greeks fought in order, and preserved their ranks; the barbarians, without either regularity or judgment. They nevertheless behaved better this day than at Eubœa; and they made the greater exertions from their terror of the king, in whose sight† they imagined they fought.

condition of having the privilege exclusively of celebrating the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, which proved to them an inexhaustible source of riches.—*T.*

* This, as I have before remarked, was the most celebrated port of the Athenians. A tract of J. Meursius, called Piræus, contains everything relating to it and its antiquities.—*T.*

† It is no doubt difficult to describe and understand accounts of battles: but whoever places himself on the spot where the Persian monarch is said to have viewed the battle of Salamis, and at the same time reads the account which Herodotus, or that which Æschylus, an eyewitness, gives in his *Perseæ*, of that action, and considers the shoalness of the water, and the small space into which so many ships were crowded, must think contemptibly of the marine engagements in those days.—*Wood on Homer.*

LXXXVII. To speak decisively and minutely of the several efforts, either of barbarians or Greeks, is more than I can presume to do. The conduct, however, of Artemisia increased her favour with the king. When the greatest disorder prevailed in the royal fleet, the vessel of Artemisia was pursued by an Athenian, and reduced to the extremest danger. In this perplexity, having before her many vessels of her allies, and being herself nearest to the enemy, the following artifice succeeded.* As she retreated from the Athenian she commenced an attack on a ship of her own party : it was a Calyndian, and had on board Damasithymus, the Calyndian prince. While they were in the Hellespont she was involved in some dispute with this man ; but it is still uncertain whether her conduct in the present instance was the effect of design, or accidentally happened from the Calyndian's coming first in her way. This vessel Artemisia attacked and sunk, by which she obtained a double advantage. The Athenian commander, seeing the vessel he pursued attack a barbarian, supposed that it was either a Grecian ship, or one that had deserted the barbarians, and was now assisting the Greeks : he was thus induced to direct his attack elsewhere.

LXXXVIII. Artemisia by this action not only avoided the impending danger, but also made herself more acceptable to the king at the time she was doing him an actual injury. It is asserted that the king, as he viewed the engagement, observed her vessel bearing down on the other. At this period some attendant remarked to him, " Observe, sir, the prowess of Artemisia ; she has now sent to the bottom a vessel of the enemy." The king was earnest in his

* Polyænus informs us that Artemisia first ordered her Persian ensign to be taken down ; a circumstance omitted by Herodotus, but which adds much to the probability of the story.—*Larcher*,

inquiry, whether the ship which attracted his attention was really that of Artemisia. Those about him, knowing exactly the figure which distinguished her ship, assured him that it was: at the same time they had no doubt but the vessel she had attacked belonged to the enemy. It happened, among the other fortunate occurrences which Artemisia met with, that not a single person of the Calyndian vessel survived to accuse her. Xerxes is said to have replied to what they told him: "The men have behaved like women, the women like men."*

LXXXIX. In this battle many personages of distinction fell, both of the Persians, the Medes, and their confederates: among others, Ariabignes was slain: he was the commander-in-chief, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes. The loss of the Greeks was but small. As they were expert in swimming,† they whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish by the sword, made their escape to Salamis. Great numbers of the barbarians, from their ignorance of this art, were drowned. When the foremost ships were obliged to seek their safety by flight a general destruction of the rest ensued. They who were behind, anxious to advance to the front, and to give to

* Xerxes sent a complete suit of Grecian armour to Artemisia as a reward of her bravery: to the commander of his own fleet, a distaff and spindle.—*Polyænus*. This last does not seem to me probable, and the answer of Xerxes perhaps gave rise to it. The commander of the fleet was the brother of Xerxes, who died after fighting gallantly.—*Larcher*.

† The art of swimming constituted a material part of youthful education among the Greeks and Romans: if they intended to speak in very contemptuous terms of any man, they said he had neither learned to read nor to swim.

Savary informs us, that of the Egyptians, men, women, and children are remarkably expert, and he says graceful, in swimming. Man is the only perfect animal which learns to swim, all others swim naturally: in general we find that islanders, and all those people whose country is intersected by canals, or abounds in rivers, are skilful in this manly exercise, while those living more inland are ignorant of it.—*T*.

the king, who viewed them, some testimony of their zeal and courage, ran foul of those vessels which were retreating.

XC. During the confusion many Phœnicians who had lost their ships went to the king, and informed him that their disgrace was occasioned by the perfidy of the Ionians. The consequence of this was, that the Ionian leaders were not punished with death, but the Phœnicians were. While they were yet speaking a Samothracian vessel attacked one of Attica, and sunk it; immediately afterward a ship of Ægina fell on the Samothracian, and inflicted on it a similar fate; but the Samothracians, who were skilful in the management of the spear, attacked as they were going down their adversaries with so much success, that they boarded and took the vessel. This exploit was very fortunate for the Ionians. Xerxes, observing this specimen of the Ionian valour, turned with anger to the Phœnicians; and as he was beyond measure vexed and exasperated, he ordered them all to be beheaded; as being pusillanimous themselves, they had presumed to accuse men better than themselves. The king, placed on Mount Ægaleos,* which is opposite to Salamis, was particularly observant of the battle; and when he saw any per-

* The ancients differ concerning the place from which Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Phanodemus pretends that it was from the temple of Hercules, in a place where Attica is separated from Salamis by a very small strait. Acestodorus says it was from the hills called Cerata, (The Horns,) on the confines of the territory of Megara. The difference is only in appearance. They fought, says Pausanias, at Salamis, which stretches itself as far as Megara; thus Mount Ægaleos was on the confines of Attica and Megara.—*Larcher*.

Æschylus, in the *Persæ*, contents himself with saying that Xerxes was a spectator of the engagement, without saying from what place. He had a seat from which he could easily discern all his forces, a lofty mound, *near the sea*; from which it should seem to have been some artificial tumulus. The scholiast to the passage of Æschylus refers the reader to the place before us in Herodotus. Pliny calls it Mount Ægialos.—*T*.

son eminently distinguish himself, he was minute in his inquiries concerning his family and city; all which, at his direction, his scribes recorded. This execution of the Phœnicians was not a little forwarded by Ariaramnes, a Persian, and favourite of the king, who happened to be then present.

XCI. In this disaster were the Phœnicians involved: the barbarians, retreating, were anxious to gain Phalerum: the Æginetæ, however, guarding this neck of sea, performed what well deserves mention. The Athenians, in the tumult of the fight, overpowered those who resisted, and pressed on those who fled. These last the Æginetæ attacked, so that many which escaped from the Athenians were intercepted by the Æginetæ.

XCII. As Themistocles was engaged in the pursuit of a flying enemy he came up with a vessel of Ægina, commanded by Polycritus, son of Crios, which was then attacking a vessel of Sidon. It happened to be the very ship which off Sciathus took Pytheas, the son of Ischenus, in a vessel of Ægina sent to watch the motions of the enemy. This man, almost expiring from his wounds, the Persians with great tenderness had preserved on account of his extraordinary valour; and when the Sidonian vessel with the Persians on board was taken, Pytheas was restored in safety to his country. Polycritus, observing the Athenian vessel, which by its colours he knew to belong to the commander-in-chief, called out in a reproachful manner to Themistocles, and bade him observe how the Æginetæ showed their attachment to the Medes, and at the same time he rushed on the Sidonian.

XCIII. The barbarians whose ships remained fled to Phalerum, and joined the land forces. On this day they who distinguished themselves the most were the people of Ægina; next to them the Athenians. Of the Æginetæ, Polycritus was most eminent; of the Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyris, and

Aminias of Pallene.* This last was the person who pursued Artemisia; and who would not have desisted till he had taken the enemy, or been taken himself, if he had conceived her to have been on board the vessel which he chased. The Athenian commanders had received particular orders with respect to her; and a reward of ten thousand drachmæ was offered to whoever should take her alive; it being thought a most disgraceful circumstance that a woman should fight against Athens. She, however, escaped, as we have before described, as also did many others, to Phalerum.

XCIV. The Athenians affirm† of Adimantus, the leader of the Corinthians, that at the very commencement of the fight he was seized with a panic and fled. The Corinthians followed his example. Arriving at the temple of Minerva Sciras, not far from the coast of Salamis, they met a little bark, which seemed as if sent by the gods: who actually sent it could never be discovered: it approached, however, the Corinthians, who were in total ignorance how things went;

* He was brother to the great poet *Æschylus*.

† *Dion Chrysostom* relates, that our historian not having received the compensation which he expected from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praise, was induced to misrepresent their conduct, with that of Adimantus, on the day of Salamis. *Plutarch* pretends that *Herodotus* from malignity related the battle of Salamis in a manner disadvantageous to the Corinthians. If what was asserted by *Dion Chrysostom* were true, *Plutarch* would not have omitted it. I cannot prevail on myself to believe that our historian was influenced by either motive. I rather think he desired to gratify the Athenians, who were at enmity with the Corinthians. *Plutarch* with some reason opposes to *Herodotus* the silence of *Thucydides*, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, and the inscriptions of *Simonides*, and some other poets, of which the historian could not be ignorant. I may add, that if *Herodotus* had felt the motives imputed to him by *Plutarch* and *Dion Chrysostom*, he would not have opposed to the recital of the Athenians the evidence of universal Greece.—*Larcher*.

and when at a certain distance some one on board exclaimed, "Adimantus, by thus flying with the ships under your command, you must be considered as the betrayer of Greece: the Greeks, however, are victorious over their enemies to the utmost of their hopes." Adimantus not giving credit to these assertions, it was repeated from on board the little bark, that they would agree to suffer death if the Greeks were not victorious. Adimantus, therefore, with his detachment, made haste to rejoin the Greeks; but they did not come up till the battle was determined. This is what the Athenians affirm. The Corinthians deny the fact; declaring that no nation was more distinguished on this occasion than themselves: and this indeed the Greeks in general confirm.

XCV. Aristides the Athenian, son of Lysimachus, of whose integrity I have before made honourable mention, during the tumult of the battle of Salamis rendered his country this service: Taking with him a number of armed Athenians, whom he found stationed along the shore of Salamis, he landed on the island of Psittalia, and put every person whom he found there to death.

XCVI. After the engagement the Greeks collected all their damaged vessels at Salamis,* and prepared for another battle, presuming that the king would renew the fight with all the vessels he had left. At the same time a wind from the west had driven on that part of the coast of Africa which is called Colias

* Among other rejoicings which celebrated the victory of Salamis, I find in Athenæus the following anecdote of Sophocles: Sophocles, who had a very fine person, was also accomplished in the arts of music and dancing, which, when very young, he had been taught by Lamprus. After the victory of Salamis, he danced with a lyre in his hand round a military trophy erected by the conquerors. Some say that he was entirely naked, and anointed with oil; others, that he was in his clothes. When he exhibited his tragedy of *Thyamis* he played on the citharis; and when his *Nausicaa* was performed he discovered great activity in leaping with the ball.—T.

many wrecks belonging to the enemy. Thus the different oracles pronounced concerning this battle at Bacis and Musæus were minutely accomplished; as was also the prediction of the Athenian Lysistratus, made many years before, concerning these wrecks. It had long eluded the sagacity of the Greeks, and was to this effect:—

‘ The Colian dames with oars shall roast their food.’

The above happened after the king’s departure.

XCVII. When Xerxes knew how severely he had suffered, apprehending that the Ionians might induce the Greeks, or that of themselves they might be disposed to sail to the Hellespont and break down the bridge, he determined to seek his safety by flight. Desirous, however, of not being suspected in his design, either by the Greeks or his own troops, he made an effort to connect Salamis with the continent; joining for this purpose the Phœnician transports together, to serve both as a bridge and a wall. He then made seeming preparations for another naval engagement. His taking these measures caused it to be generally believed that he intended to continue where he was and prosecute hostilities. His real purpose did not escape Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his mind. While Xerxes was thus employed he sent a messenger to Persia with intelligence of his defeat.*

XCVIII. The Persian messengers travel with a

* “I have been told by a Mede,” says Dion Chrysostom, “that the Persians do not agree to what is reported by the Greeks. They pretend that Xerxes conquered the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and slew their king; that he made himself master of Athens, totally destroying it, and reducing all those Athenians to slavery who did not escape by flight; and that finally he returned to Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks. It is evident that this narrative is false; but it is not impossible, indeed it is very probable, that the king said this to the Asiatic nations,” &c.—*Larcher*.

velocity which nothing human* can equal. It is thus accomplished : as many days as are required to go from one place to another so many men and horses are regularly stationed along the road ; allowing a man and a horse for each day : neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor darkness, are permitted to obstruct their speed. The first messenger delivers his business to the second, the second to the third, as the torch is handed about among the Greeks at the feast of Vulcan. This mode of conveying intelligence the Persians call *angareïon*.

XCIX. On the arrival of the first messenger at Susa, informing them that Xerxes was master of Athens, such universal transport prevailed, that the Persians strewed their public roads with myrtle, burned perfumes, and all were engaged in religious or private festivals ; but the intelligence of the second messenger excited universal sorrow : they tore

* Valckenaer does not approve this reading. "Surely," says he, "the domestic pigeons, which we know were used for the purpose of conveying intelligence very anciently, travelled much faster."

The regularity and swiftness of the Roman posts cannot fail of exciting the admiration of all who attentively consider the subject. They are thus excellently described by Gibbon :—

"The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish throughout their extensive dominions the regular institution of *posta*. Houses were everywhere erected, at the distance only of five or six miles ; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses ; and by the help of these relays it was easy to travel a hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads." Mr. Gibbon adds in a note the following anecdote :—

"In the time of Theodosius, Cæsarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (one hundred and sixty-five miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was seven hundred and twenty-five Roman, or six hundred and sixty-five English miles."

The mode adopted by Cyrus, as described by Xenophon, did not essentially vary from this of the Romans.—T.

their clothes, wept, and mourned aloud, imputing all the blame to Mardonius. They were not so solicitous about the loss of their fleet as anxious for the person of their king; nor were their disquietudes calmed but by the arrival of Xerxes himself.

C. Mardonius observed that his defeat at sea greatly afflicted Xerxes, and he suspected that he meditated to fly from Athens: he began, therefore, to be alarmed on his own account, thinking that as he had been the instrument of the king's commencing hostilities with Greece, he might be made the object of his vengeance. He thought it, therefore, preferable to attempt again the subjection of Greece, or in some great effort meet an honourable death. His idea of conquering Greece prevailed, and after some deliberation, he thus addressed the king: "I would not, sir," said he, "have you much afflict yourself concerning what has happened, nor suppose that your reputation has sustained from it any considerable wound. The ultimate success of our attempts does not depend on ships, but on our troops and horses. They who from their late advantages suppose all contest at an end, will not presume to leave their vessels to oppose you, nor will the Greeks on the continent dare to meet you in the field. They who did so suffered. With your permission, therefore, our future exertions shall be made in the Peloponnesus: or if you please for a while to suspend your activity, it may securely be done: be not, however, disheartened; it is not possible that the Greeks should be finally able to elude the vengeance due to them, or to avoid being made your slaves. What I have recommended you will find to merit your attention; but if you are determined to return with your army, I have other advice to offer. Suffer not, oh king! the Persians to become the ridicule of the Greeks: you will not find us to have been the instruments of your losses; you have never seen us cowardly or base. If the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Cyp-

rians, or Cilicians have behaved themselves ill, it ought not to be imputed to us : if the Persians, therefore, have not merited your censure, vouchsafe to listen to my counsel ; if you shall not think proper to continue with us yourself, return to your country, and take with you the majority of your forces. Leave me here three hundred thousand chosen men, and I doubt not but I shall reduce Greece to your obedience."

CI. Xerxes on hearing this found his vexation suspended, and his tranquillity restored. He told Mardonius that after taking advice on the subject he would give him an answer. Having consulted with some Persians whom he assembled, he determined to send for Artemisia, whose superior wisdom he had before had reason to approve. On her arrival, Xerxes ordered his counsellors and guards to retire, while he thus addressed her : "Mardonius advises me to continue here, and make an attempt on the Peloponnesus, urging that my Persians and land forces have not been at all accessory to the injuries we have sustained, of which they desire to give me future testimony. If I should disapprove of this, he himself engages, with three hundred thousand troops, to stay and reduce Greece to my power, recommending me to retire with the rest of the army to my native country. Do you, therefore, who with so much wisdom endeavoured to dissuade me from risking an engagement at sea, tell me which of these measures you would have me pursue."

CII. The reply of Artemisia was to the following purport : "In a situation like the present, oh king ! it is not easy to say what measures will be best ; but as far as I am able to discern, I would recommend your return. Let Mardonius remain here with the number of forces he requires, as it is his own voluntary proposal with these to effect the accomplishment of your wishes. If he shall subjugate the country, and effect what he promises, the glory will

be yours,* for your troops must be his instruments: if he should be disappointed and vanquished, while you are safe, and your family and fortunes secure, no great calamity can ensue. The Greeks, as long as you shall survive and your family remain, must be involved in many contests. If Mardonius shall fail in his attempts, and perish, the Greeks will have no great advantage to boast from the misfortunes or death of one of your slaves. You have burned Athens, which was the proposed object of your expedition, and may therefore return without dishonour."

CIII. Xerxes was delighted with advice so consonant to the secret wishes of his heart: for my own part, I am of opinion his terror was so great, that no persuasions could have prevailed on him to stay. Artemisia was dismissed most graciously from his presence, and directed to retire with the royal children to Ephesus, for some of the king's natural sons had accompanied him.

CIV. Hermotimus, a favourite servant of the king, and a Pedasian by birth, was sent to take care of them. The Pedasians† inhabit the district beyond

* Thus in subsequent times did the emperors of Rome obtain ovations, triumphs, and an artificial reputation from the successful labours of their more bold and hardy lieutenants. "Under the commonwealth," says Mr. Gibben, "a triumph could only be obtained by the general who was authorized to take the auspices in the name of the people. By an exact consequence drawn from this principle of policy and religion, the triumph was reserved to the emperor; and his most successful lieutenants were satisfied with some marks of distinction, which, under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour." Speaking of the emperors' lieutenants in another place, he says, "they received and held their commissions at the will of a superior, to whose auspicious influence the merit of their actions was legally attributed."—*T.*

† See b. i., ch. clxxv. Valckenaer is of opinion that the whole of this paragraph to the end of the chapter is spurious. It certainly has no business here; and if essential at all, would have more properly appeared in b. vi., ch. xx. The strongest argument

HER.—III.—A A

Halicarnassus. It is affirmed of this people, that as often as they are menaced by any calamity, the chin of the priestess of Minerva produces a large beard; an incident which has happened twice among them.

CV. This Hermotimus revenged himself on account of the injury he had formerly sustained, with a severity, as far as I can learn, without example. He had been taken captive, and sold as a slave to a man of Chios,* named Panionius, who maintained himself by the most infamous of all traffic: Whenever he met with any youths whose persons were handsome, he carried them to Sardis or Ephesus, and disposed

against its being genuine is, that Strabo seems to have known nothing of it; speaking as if he had only seen the passage in the first book, to which I have referred the reader.—*T.*

* Chios and the islands in its vicinity were famous for their purple. It was to Chios that Alexander, when he was revelling in Persia, sent for materials to clothe himself and his attendants with purple robes. It was produced from the purpura, called in Maccabees the purple of the sea.

"Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches."

See also Ezekiel: where the prophet, enumerating the merchandise of Tyre, says, "Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee." By the isles of Elishah, I conceive the prophet to mean Lesbos, Tenedos, and the small islands near them. There were several species of the purpura, but the Pelagium and the Buccina were most valued. See *Pliny*, l. ix., c. 33. From these two separately, or combined, were produced the three kinds of purple most esteemed by the ancients. *Athenæus* says that the best and largest were found about Lesbos and the promontory of Lectus.

"By the discovery of cochineal," says Mr. Gibbon, "we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell and a dark cast, as deep as bull's blood. In Rome this was restrained to the sacred person and palace of the emperor, and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne." See *Gibbon*, vol. iii., 71. *Statius* seems to distinguish between the deep and the bluish purple.

The best, or the Pelagia, were so called, because found in deeper waters.—*T.*

of them as eunuchs at a prodigious price. Among the barbarians eunuchs are esteemed of greater value than other slaves, from the presumption of their superior fidelity. Hermotimus was one of the great many Panionius had thus treated. Hermotimus, however, could not be esteemed as altogether unfortunate: he was sent from Sardis to the king as one among other presents, and in process of time became the favourite of Xerxes above all the other eunuchs.

CVI. When the king left Sardis to proceed towards Athens, this Hermotimus went on some business to a place in Mysia, called Atarneus, inhabited by some Chians: he there met and remembered Panionius. He addressed him with much seeming kindness: he first enumerated the many benefits he enjoyed through him, and then proceeded to assure him, that if he would come to him with all his family, he should receive the most convincing testimony of his gratitude. Panionius listened to the offer with great delight, and soon went to Hermotimus with his wife and children. When the eunuch had got them in his power, he thus addressed Panionius: "The means by which you obtain a livelihood are the most infamous that can be conceived. How could I, or any of my ancestors, so have injured you or your family as to justify your reducing me from manhood to my present contemptible state? Could you imagine that your crimes would escape the observation of the gods, who, inspiring me with the fallacy I practised, have thus delivered you into my hands? Abandoned as you are, you can have no reason to complain of the vengeance which I mean to inflict on you." After these reproaches, he produced the four sons of Panionius, and obliged the father to ill use them himself: when this was done, he compelled the sons to do the same to their father. Such was the punishment of Panionius, and the revenge of Hermotimus.

CVII. Xerxes having sent his children to Ephesus, under the care of Artemisia, commissioned Mardonius to select from the army the number that he wished, and desired him to make his deeds correspond with his words. The above happened during the day; but on the approach of night, the king commanded the leaders of his fleet to retire from Phalerum towards the Hellespont with the greatest expedition, to protect the bridge and secure his passage. The barbarians set sail; but when they approached Zoster, mistaking the little promontories which rise above that coast for ships, they fled a great way. Discovering their error, they afterward formed, and proceeded in a regular body.

CVIII. In the morning, the Greeks perceiving the land forces of the enemy on their former post, supposed their fleet to be still at Phalerum, and prepared for a second engagement. When informed of their retreat, they commenced a pursuit with the greatest eagerness. Proceeding as far as Andros without being able to discover them, they went on shore on the island to hold a consultation. Themistocles was of opinion that they should sail through the midst of the islands, continuing their pursuit, and endeavour to reach the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. This was opposed by Eurybiades, who thought that the measure of breaking down the bridge would not fail to involve Greece in the greatest calamity. It was not probable, he urged, that if the Persian was compelled to stay in Europe he would remain inactive: if he did, his army would be in danger of suffering from famine, unable either to return to Asia or advance his affairs; but if he should be earnest in the prosecution of any enterprise, he would have great probability of success, as it was much to be feared that most of the cities and powers of Europe would either be reduced by him, or surrender previously to his arms: besides this, he would have a constant supply of corn from the annual produce of Greece.

As therefore it was not likely that the Persian after his late naval defeat would wish to stay in Europe, it was better that his escape to his own country should be permitted. Here, he added, it will be afterward advisable to prosecute hostilities. In this opinion the other leaders of the Peloponnesus acquiesced.

CIX. Themistocles, seeing his advice to sail immediately to the Hellespont overruled by the majority, addressed himself next to the Athenians. They were more particularly exasperated by the escape of the enemy, and had determined to continue the pursuit to the Hellespont, even if unsupported by the rest of the allies. He spoke to them as follows: "I have myself been witness of similar incidents, and I have frequently heard it affirmed by others, that men reduced to the extremest ebb of fortune have by some succeeding efforts retrieved their affairs, and made amends for their former want of vigour. We Athenians have enjoyed this favourable vicissitude; but although we have thus happily defended ourselves and our country, and have repulsed such a host of foes, we refrain from the pursuit of a flying enemy; not that we must impute our success to our own exertions: we must thank the gods and the heroes who would not suffer an individual, marked by his impiety and crimes, to be the tyrant of Asia and of Europe; a man who made no discrimination between things sacred and profane; who consumed by fire the shrines of the gods; who dared to inflict lashes on the sea, and throw chains into its bosom. To us the present moment is auspicious; let us, therefore, attend to the interest of ourselves and families; and as the barbarian is effectually expelled, let us severally repair our dwellings, and cultivate our lands. In the spring we will sail to Ionia and the Hellespont." By this conduct Themistocles intended to conciliate the friendship of the Persian, that in case of his becoming unpopular with his countrymen

he might be secure of a place of refuge. The event proved his sagacity.*

CX. The Athenians, deluded by Themistocles, assented to his proposal: they had before thought highly of his wisdom, and the present instance of his prudence and discretion induced their readier compliance with his wishes. The Athenians had no sooner agreed in form to what he recommended than he despatched a bark with confidential servants to inform the king of their determination, who were not to be prevailed on even by torture to reveal what was intrusted to them: among these was the slave Sicinnus. On their arrival at Attica, Sicinnus left his companions in their vessel, and hastened to the king, whom he thus addressed: "Themistocles, son of Neocles, and leader of the Athenians, of all the confederates the most wise and the most valiant, has sent me to inform you, that willing to render you kindness, he has prevented the Greeks from pursuing you to the Hellespont, when it was their inclination to do so,† in order that they might break down your bridge: you may now, therefore, retire there in security." Saying this, Sicinnus returned.

CXI. The Greeks having thus declined to pursue the barbarians, with the view of breaking down the bridge at the Hellespont, laid close siege to Andros,

* It is a singular circumstance, which I do not remember ever to have seen remarked by any writer, that one of the motives which made Atossa urge on Darius to hostilities with Greece was, that she might have some Ionian female slaves, who were celebrated for their graces and accomplishments.

And the escape of Themistocles to Asia was in the habit of an Ionian female slave, concealed in a litter; by which means he with difficulty eluded the fury of his incensed countrymen.—*T.*

† Plutarch relates the matter differently: he makes Themistocles inform Xerxes that the Greeks, after their victory, had resolved to sail to the Hellespont, and break down their bridge; but that Themistocles, zealous to preserve him, urged him to hasten to that sea, and pass over to Asia. In the mean time he raised perplexities and embarrassments among the allies, which retarded their pursuit.—*Larcher.*

and determined totally to destroy it. These were the first of the islanders who had refused the solicitations of Themistocles for money. He had urged to them, that they were impelled to make this application by two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Necessity, who could not possibly be refused. The Andrians replied, that Athens might reasonably expect to be great and prosperous from the protection of such powerful deities, but that their island was of itself poor and barren, and had withal unalterably attached to it two formidable deities, Poverty and Weakness; that they, therefore, could not be expected to supply them with money: the strength of Athens, they added, could never be greater in proportion than their weakness. In consequence of this refusal and reply they were now besieged.

CXII. In the mean while the avarice of Themistocles appeared to be insatiable. He made applications to all the other islands also for money, using the same emissaries and language as before to the Andrians. In case of refusal he threatened to bring against them the forces of Greece, and utterly destroy them. He by these means obtained from the Carystians and Parians an enormous sum of money. These people hearing that the Andrians had been distressed on account of their attachment to the Medes, and being informed that Themistocles was the first in rank and influence of all the Grecian leaders, were terrified into compliance. Whether any of the other islands gave him money or not, I will not take on me to decide; but I am inclined to believe that some of them did. The Carystians, however, did not by their compliance escape the menaced calamity; while the Carians, by the effect of their bribes on Themistocles, avoided being made the objects of hostilities. In this manner Themistocles, beginning with the Andrians, extorted money from the islanders without the knowledge of the other leaders.

CXIII. The land forces of Xerxes, after continu-

ing on their former station a few days after the battle of Salamis, moved towards Bœotia, following the track by which they had come. Mardonius thought proper to accompany the king, both because the season of the year was improper for any further military exertions, and because he preferred wintering in Thessaly, intending to advance to the Peloponnesus on the commencement of the spring. On their arrival in Thessaly, the first care of Mardonius was to select, in preference to all the Persians, those called the Immortals, excepting only their leader, Hydarnes, who refused to leave the person of the king. Of the other Persians he chose the cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse: to these he added all the forces, horse and foot, of the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. From the rest of the allies he selected only those who were distinguished by their advantages of person, or who had performed some remarkable exploit. He took also the greater part of those Persians who wore collars and bracelets;* and next to these the Medes, inferior to the Persians in force, but not in number. The aggregate of these troops, including the cavalry, was three hundred thousand men.

CXIV. While Mardonius was employed in selecting his army, and Xerxes was still in Thessaly, an oracle was addressed to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, requiring them to demand compensation of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept of what he should offer. A messenger was instantly despatched from Sparta, who came up with the army, the whole of which was still in Thessaly, and being introduced to Xerxes, thus addressed him: "King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and Heraclidæ of Sparta† claim of you a compensation for the death

* As marks of royal favour, and rewards for service. See an account of the royal gifts of Persia, in a note on the first book.

† Herodotus expresses himself thus, to distinguish the kings

of their king, whom you slew while he was defending Greece." The king laughed at this, and for some time returned no answer; till at length, turning to Mardonius, who stood near him, "This man," said he, "shall make you a becoming retribution." The herald receiving this answer, departed.

CXV. Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, hastened towards the Hellespont. Within the space of forty-five days he arrived at the place of passage with a very inconsiderable number of troops. But wherever these troops came, without any distinction, they consumed all the corn of the inhabitants; and when this failed, they fed on the natural produce of the earth, stripping wild and cultivated trees alike of their bark and leaves, to such extremity of famine were they come. To this a pestilence succeeded, which, with the dysentery, destroyed numbers in their march. Xerxes distributed his sick through the cities as he passed, recommending the care and maintenance of them to the inhabitants. Some were left in Thessaly, others at Siris in Pæonia, others at Macedonia. At this last place, on his march to Greece, Xerxes had left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, which he did not find on his return. The Pæonians had given it to the Thracians; but when Xerxes inquired for it again, they told him that the mares, while feeding, had been driven away by the people of the higher Thrace, who lived near the source of the Strymon.

CXVI. Here the King of Bisaltica and Crestonia, a Thracian, did a most unnatural action. Refusing to submit to Xerxes, he had retired to the higher parts of Mount Rhodope, and had commanded his sons not to serve against Greece. They, either despising their father, or curious to see the war, had joined the Persian army. There were six of them,

of Lacedæmon from those of Argos and Macedonia, who also were Heraclidæ, that is to say, of the race of Hercules.—*Larcher*,

and they all returned safe; but their father ordered their eyes to be put out: such was the reward they received.

CXVII. The Persians, leaving Thrace, came to the passage, where they eagerly crowded into their vessels to cross to Abydos. The bridge of vessels was no more; a tempest had broken and dispersed it. Here meeting with provisions in greater abundance than they had enjoyed during their march, they indulged themselves so intemperately, that this, added to the change of water, destroyed a great number of those who remained: the rest with Xerxes arrived at Sardis.*

CXVIII. There is also another story. It is said that Xerxes, leaving Athens, came to a city called Eïon, on the banks of the Strymon. Hence he proceeded no farther by land; but intrusting the conduct of his forces to Hydarnes, with orders to march them to the Hellespont, he went on board a Phœnician vessel to cross over into Asia. After he had embarked, a heavy and tempestuous wind set in from the lake, which, on account of the great number of Persians on board, attendant on Xerxes, made the situation of the vessel extremely dangerous. The king, in an emotion of terror, inquired aloud of the pilot if he thought they were safe. "By no means," was the answer, "unless we could be rid of some of this multitude." On this Xerxes exclaimed, "Persians, let me now see which of you has an affection for his prince; my safety it seems depends on you."

* Mr. Richardson, who rejects altogether the Grecian account of Xerxes, and his invasion of Greece, finally expresses himself in these strong terms:—

"To sum up all: the expedition of Xerxes, on the most moderate scale of the Greek writers, seems to be inconsistent with probability and the ordinary power of man. It is all on stilts: every step we take is on romantic ground: nothing seems wanting but a few genii to make it in every respect an exceeding good Arabian tale."

As soon as he had spoken, they first bowed themselves before him, and then leaped into the sea.* The vessel being thus lightened, Xerxes was safely landed in Asia. As soon as he got on shore he rewarded the pilot with a golden crown for preserving the life of the king; but as he had caused so many Persians to perish he cut off his head.

CXIX. This last account of the retreat of Xerxes seems to deserve but little credit, for many reasons, but particularly from the catastrophe of the Persians who accompanied the king. If Xerxes really made such a speech to the pilot, I cannot hesitate a moment to suppose that the king would have ordered his attendants, who were not only Persians, but men of the highest rank, to descend into the hold of the ship, and would have thrown into the sea as many Phœnician rowers as there were Persians on board. But the truth is, that the king with the residue of his army returned towards Asia by land.

CXX. Of this there is a yet stronger proof. It is well known that Xerxes, on his return to Asia, came to Abdera; with the inhabitants of which he made a treaty of friendship, presenting them with a golden cimeter, and a tiara richly embroidered. The Abderites assert, what does not to me appear probable, that with them Xerxes, for the first time after his departure from Athens, pulled off his robes, as being not till then released from alarm. Abdera is much nearer the Hellespont than Strymon and Eion, where it is said that he went on board.

CXXI. The Greeks not succeeding in their attempts

* An anecdote not very unlike this, and particularly characteristic of the spirit of British sailors, is related of James the Second, when Duke of York. He was, by some accident, in imminent danger of being lost at sea; but getting into the ship's boat, with a select number of attendants, he, though with extreme difficulty, got safe to shore. The honest crew, when they saw his highness landed on the beach, gave him three cheers, and in a few minutes all went down, and perished.—*T.*

on Andros, attacked Carystus, and after wasting its lands returned to Salamis. Here their first care was to set apart as sacred to the gods the first fruits of their success; among which were three Phœnician triremes. One of these was deposited on the isthmus, where it continued within my memory; a second was placed at Sunium; the third was consecrated to Ajax, and reserved at Salamis. They then proceeded to a division of the plunder, sending the choicest to Delphi. Here a statue was erected, twelve cubits high, having in its hand the beak of a ship:* it was placed on the same spot where stands a statue in gold of Alexander of Macedon.

CXXII. After these offerings had been presented at Delphi it was inquired publicly of the deity, in the name of all the Greeks, whether what he had received was perfect and satisfactory to him. He replied, that from the Greeks in general it was, but not from the Æginetæ; from whom he claimed a further mark of their gratitude, as they had principally been distinguished at the battle of Salamis. The people of Ægina, on hearing this, consecrated to the divinity three golden stars, which were fixed on a brazen mast, in the angle near the cistern of Cræsus.

CXXIII. After the division of the plunder the Greeks sailed to the isthmus, to confer the reward of valour on him who should be judged to have been most distinguished during the war. On their arrival here the Grecian leaders severally inscribed their opinions, which they deposited on the altar of Neptune. They were to declare whom they thought the first, and whom the second, in merit: each individual inscribed his own name, as claiming the first reward: but a great majority of them united in declaring Themistocles deserving of the second. While each,

* The first naval triumph of Rome was commemorated in a similar manner. A pyramid, or rather trophy, was erected in the forum, composed of the beaks of ships taken from the enemy.
—T.

therefore; had only his own suffrage for the first, Themistocles had the second place awarded him by a great majority.

CXXIV. While the Greeks severally returned to their homes, avoiding, from envy, to decide the question for which they had purposely assembled, Themistocles was not only esteemed, but celebrated through Greece as the first in sagacity and wisdom. Not having been honoured by those with whom he conquered at Salamis, he retired for this purpose to Lacedæmon: here he was splendidly entertained,* and honourably distinguished. The prize of personal prowess was assigned to Eurybiades; but that of wisdom and skill to Themistocles, and each was presented with an olive crown. To the latter they also gave the handsomest chariot in Sparta: they heaped praises on him; and when he returned, three hundred chosen Spartans, of those who are called the knights, were appointed to attend him as far as Tegea. I know no other example of the Spartans conducting any person from their city.

CXXV. On his return from Lacedæmon to Athens, Timodemus of Aphidna, a man chiefly remarkable for his implacable enmity against Themistocles, imputed to him his visit to Sparta as a public crime. The honours, he said, which he had received at Lacedæmon were not bestowed out of respect to him, but to Athens. While he was continuing his invectives, "Friend," said Themistocles, "the matter is thus: If I had been a Belbinite, I should not have been thus

* This was the more remarkable, and must have been a proof of the extraordinary regard in which the character of Themistocles was held, as it was contrary to the genius of the Spartans, and the inveterate prejudices of that people. While at Athens there were sometimes known to be ten thousand foreigners of different nations, all of whom were treated with hospitality and attention, strangers were discouraged from visiting Sparta; and if ever they ventured there, were considered as spies.—T.

distinguished at Sparta; nor would you, although an Athenian."

CXXVI. At this juncture Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who had always had great reputation among his countrymen, and particularly from his conduct at Platea, accompanied the king with a detachment of sixty thousand men of the army which Mardonius had selected. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, and was arrived in Asia, Artabazus returned, and encamped near Pallene. Mardonius had taken up his winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia; and as he did not wish to have his camp enlarged by this additional number, Artabazus thought it expedient to take the opportunity now before him of chastising the rebellious Potidæans. When the king was gone, and the Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, this people openly revolted from the barbarians; they of Pallene had done the same.

CXXVII. Artabazus therefore laid siege to Potidæa: distrusting the fidelity of the Olynthians, he attacked them also. Their city was at this time possessed by the Bottiæans, whom the Macedonians had driven from the gulf of Therma. Artabazus having taken their city, put the inhabitants to death in a neighbouring marsh. The government of the place he gave to Critobulus of Torone: the Chalcidians thus became masters of Olynthus.

CXXVIII. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus applied with greater ardour to the siege of Potidæa. He contrived to induce Timoxenos, the chief of the Scionæans, to betray the town into his hands. In what manner their correspondence commenced I am not able to say; I can only speak of the event. Whenever they wanted to communicate with each other, a letter was fixed to an arrow, and made to serve as wings, which was then shot to a place agreed on. But the betrayer of Potidæa was ultimately detected: Artabazus directed an arrow to a concerted place; but it deviated from its direction, and wounded

a Potidæan in the shoulder. A crowd, as is usual on such occasions, surrounded the wounded man, who seeing the letter connected with the arrow, carried it immediately to the magistrates, with whom their Pallanian allies were present. The letter was read, and the traitor discovered: it was not, however, thought proper to inflict the deserved punishment on Timoxenus, out of regard to his country, and that the Scionæans might not in future be stigmatized as traitors: but it was in this manner that the treachery of Timoxenus became known.

CXXIX. Artabazus had been now three months before Potidæa, when there happened a great overflowing of the sea, which continued for a considerable time. The barbarians, seeing the ground become a swamp, retired to Pallene: they had already performed two fifths of their march, and had three more before them, when the sea burst beyond its usual limits with so vast an inundation that the inhabitants, who had often witnessed similar incidents, represent this as without parallel. They who could not swim were drowned; they who could were killed by the Potidæans from their boats. This inundation, and the consequent destruction of the Persians, the Potidæans thus explain: The barbarians, they say, had impiously profaned the temple and shrine of Neptune, situate in their suburbs; who may, therefore, be considered as the author of their calamity, which to me appears probable. With the few who escaped Artabazus joined the army of Mardonius in Thessaly; and this was the fate of those who conducted Xerxes to the Hellespont.

CKXX. The remainder of the fleet of Xerxes, which, flying from Salamis, arrived in Asia, after passing over the king and his forces from the Chersonesus to Abydos, wintered at Cyma. In the commencement of the spring it assembled at Samos, where some other vessels had continued during the winter. This armament was principally manned by

Persians and Medes, and was under the conduct of Mardontes, the son of Bagæus, and Artayntes, son of Artachæus, whose uncle Amitres had been joined to him as his colleague. As the alarm of their former defeat was not yet subsided, they did not attempt to advance farther westward, nor indeed did any one impel them to do so. Their vessels, with those of the Ionians, amounted to three hundred; and they stationed themselves at Samos, to secure the fidelity of Ionia. They did not think it probable that the Greeks would penetrate into Ionia, but would be satisfied with defending their country. They were confirmed in this opinion; as the Greeks, after the battle of Salamis, never attempted to pursue them, but were content to retire also themselves. With respect to their affairs at sea, the Persians were sufficiently depressed; but they expected that Mardonius would do great things by land. Remaining on their station at Samos, they consulted how they might annoy the enemy, and they anxiously attended to the progress and affairs of Mardonius.

CXXXI. The approach of the spring, and the appearance of Mardonius in Thessaly, roused the Greeks. Their land army was not yet got together; but their fleet, consisting of a hundred and ten ships, was already at Ægina, under the command of Leutychides. He was descended in a right line from Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratidas, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charilus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanês, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and lastly, from Hercules. He was of the second royal family; and all his ancestors, except the two named after Leutychides, had been kings of Sparta. The Athenians were commanded by Xanthippus, son of Ariphon.

CXXXII. When the fleet of the Greeks had arrived at Ægina, the same individuals who had before been at Sparta to entreat the assistance of that people

to deliver Ionia, arrived among the Greeks. Herodotus, the son of Basilides, was with them: they were in all seven, and had together concerted the death of Strattes, tyrant of Chios. Their plot having been discovered by some of the accomplices, the other six had withdrawn themselves to Sparta, and now came to Ægina to persuade the Greeks to enter Ionia: they were induced, though not without difficulty, to advance as far as Delos. All beyond this the Greeks viewed as full of danger; as well because they were ignorant of the country, as because they supposed the enemy's forces were in all these parts strong and numerous. Samos they considered as not less remote than the Pillars of Hercules. Thus the barbarians were kept by their apprehensions from advancing beyond Samos; and the Greeks, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Chians, would not move farther eastward than Delos. Their mutual alarm thus kept the two parties at an equal distance from each other.

CXXXIII. While the Greeks thus moved to Delos, Mardonius, who had wintered in Thessaly, began to break up his quarters. His first step was to send a European, whose name was Mys, to the different oracles, ordering him to use his endeavours, and consult them all. What it was that he wished to learn from them I am unable to say, for I have never heard; I should, however, suppose that he only intended to consult them on his present affairs.

CXXXIV. It is certain that this man went to Lebadia, and by means of a native of the country, whom he bribed to his purpose, descended to the cave of Trophonius: he went also to the oracle of Abas in Phocis: he then proceeded to Thebes, where, with the same ceremonies as are practised in Olympia, he consulted the Ismenian Apollo; afterward he obtained permission by his gold, of some stranger, but not of a Theban, to sleep in the temple of Amphigraus. No Theban is here permitted to consult the

oracle: for when Amphiaraus had formerly submitted to their choice, whether they would have him for their diviner, or their ally, they preferred having him as the latter. On this account no Theban is allowed to sleep in his temple.

CXXXV. According to the account given me by the Thebans, a remarkable prodigy at this time happened. Mys, the European, having visited all the oracles, came to the temple of Apollo Ptous. This, though so called, belongs to the Thebans: it is beyond the lake of Copais, at the declivity of a mountain near Acræphia. When this Mys arrived here he was attended by three persons of the place, appointed for the express purpose of writing down the answer of the oracle. The priestess immediately made reply to him in a barbarous language, which filled those who were present, and who expected the answer to be given in Greek, with astonishment. While his attendants remained in great perplexity, Mys snatched the tablets from their hands, and wrote down the reply of the priestess; which, as afterward appeared, was in the Carian tongue: having done this he returned to Thessaly.

CXXXVI. As soon as the oracular declarations had been conveyed to Mardonius he sent Alexander the Macedonian, son of Amyntas, ambassador to Athens. His choice of him was directed from his being connected with the Persians by ties of consanguinity. Bubares, a Persian, had married Gygæa, sister of Alexander, and daughter of Amyntas: by her he had a son, who, after his grandfather by the mother's side, was called also Amyntas, to whom the king had presented Alabanda, a city of Phrygia. Mardonius was further influenced in employing Alexander, from his being a man of a munificent and hospitable spirit. For these reasons he deemed him the most likely to conciliate the Athenians, who were represented to him as a valiant and numerous people, and who he understood had principally contributed

to the defeats which the Persians had sustained by sea. He reasonably presumed, that if he could prevail on them to unite their forces with his own, he might easily become master of the sea. His superiority by land was in his opinion superior to all resistance; and as the oracles had probably advised him to make an alliance with the Athenians, he hoped by these means effectually to subdue the Greeks.

CXXXVII. Attending to this, he sent to Athens Alexander, descended in the seventh degree from Perdiccas, whose manner of obtaining the throne of Macedonia I shall here relate: Three brothers, Gavaues, Æropus, and Perdiccas, sons of Temenus, fled on some occasion from Argos to Illyrium; from whence retiring to the higher parts of Macedonia, they came to Lebæa. Here they engaged in the service of the king, in different menial employments: one had the care of his horses; another of the cattle; the third and youngest, of the sheep. In remoter times the families even of kings had but little money;* and it was the business of the queen her-

* In the time of the Trojan war the use of money was not known among the Greeks. Homer and Hesiod do not speak of gold and silver money; they express the value of things by saying they are worth so many oxen or sheep. They estimated the riches of a man by the number of his flocks, and that of a country by the abundance of its pastures, and the quantity of its metals. See the *Iliad*, vii., 466, Pope's version:—

“Each in exchange proportion'd treasures gave,
Some brass or iron, some an ox or slave.”

Lucan attributes the invention of money (l. vi., v. 402) to Itonus, king of Thessaly, and son of Deucalion: others to Ericthonius, king of Athens, who, as they say, was the son of Vulcan, and had been brought up by the daughters of Cecrops. Aglaosthenes (in Julius Pollux) gives the honour of this invention to the inhabitants of the island of Naxos. The more received opinion is, that Phidon, king of Argos, and contemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitus, first introduced the use of money in Ægina, to enable the people of Ægina to obtain a subsistence by commerce, as their island was so barren.

Neither gold nor silver was permitted at Lacedæmon. Ac-

self to cook for her husband.* When the bread prepared by the younger domestic, Perdiccas, was baked, she always observed that it became twice as big as before; this she at length communicated to her husband. The king immediately considered the incident as a prodigy, and as foreboding some extraordinary event. He therefore sent for the brothers, and commanded them to leave his territories. They told him it was but reasonable that they should first receive what was due to them. On this the king answered, as if heavenstruck, "I give you this sun (the light of which then came through the chimney) as proper wages for you." Gavanēs and Æropus, the two elder brothers, on hearing this, were much astonished; but the younger one exclaimed, "We accept, oh king! what you offer us:" then taking the sword, for he had one with him, he made

cording to Athenæus, they gave the widow of the king Polydonus, who reigned 310 years before Lysurgus, a certain number of oxen to purchase a house. When Lysander plundered Athens, the Lacedæmonians began to have gold and silver, but only for public necessities, the use of it among individuals being forbidden on penalty of death.

Herodotus, l. i., c. xciv, says that the Lydians were the first who coined gold and silver money, and used it in commerce.

The treasures of Cræsus contained gold and silver only in the mass. See Herodotus, b. vi., c. cxxv.

It does not appear that the Persians had money before the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes. See Herod., l. vi., c. clxvi.; l. ix., c. xl.

None of the ancient money of the Lydians, Persians, &c., is now to be seen: the most ancient of those preserved in cabinets are Greek; and of the Greek, the oldest are those of Amyntas, grandfather of Alexander the Great.—*Bellanger*.

* A scheick, who has the command of five hundred horse, does not disdain to saddle and bridle his own, nor to give him barley and chopped straw. In his tent his wife makes the coffee, kneads the dough, and superintends the dressing of his victuals: his daughters and kinswomen wash the linen, and go with pitchers on their heads, and veils over their faces, to draw water from fountains. These manners agree precisely with the descriptions in Homer, and the history of Abraham in Genesis.—*Volney*.

a circular mark with it on that part of the ground on which the sun shone, and having three several times received the light on his bosom, departed with his brothers.

CXXXVIII. One of the king's porters informed him of what the young man had done, and of his probable design in accepting what was offered. The king was much incensed, and immediately despatched some horsemen to kill them. In this country is a river, near which the posterity of those men who were originally from Argos offer sacrifices as to their preserver. This, as soon as the Temenidæ had got to the opposite bank, swelled to so great a degree that the horsemen were unable to pass it. The Temenidæ, arriving at another district of Macedonia, fixed their residence near the gardens, said to belong to Midas, the son of Gordius. In these a species of rose grows naturally, having sixty leaves, and more than ordinary fragrance: here also, as the Macedonians relate, Silenus* was taken. Beyond this place is a mountain called Bermion, which during the winter is inaccessible. The Temenidæ first settled here, and afterward subdued the rest of Macedonia.

CXXXIX. From the above Perdiccas Alexander was thus descended; he was the son of Amyntas; Amyntas was the son of Alcetas; Alcetas of Æropus;

* Most authors affirm that he was a satyr: some confound the Sileni with the satyrs. Marsyas is called Silenus by some writers, and a satyr by others. There was certainly a difference between them: the Sileni were the elder satyrs.—*Larcher*.

We learn from the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius that there was a people of Arabia called Selenitæ. It has been said that this name was taken by the Arcadians, to confront the vain boast of the Athenians: see book VII. I think that the name Sileni was assumed by the Arcadians before they began to dispute antiquity with the Athenians. A principal part of their possessions in Asia was called Salonum, and the cheese there made caseus Salonites, words not unlike Silenus and Selenitæ. The name is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan.—*T*.

Æropus of Philip ; Philip of Argæus ; Argæus of Perdiccas, who obtained the kingdom.

CXL. When Alexander arrived at Athens, as deputed by Mardonius, he delivered the following speech: "Men of Athens! Mardonius informs you by me, that he has received a commission from the king of the following import: 'Whatever injuries the Athenians may have done me I willingly forgive: return them therefore their country: let them add to it from any other they may prefer, and let them enjoy their own laws. If they will consent to enter into an alliance with me, you have my orders to rebuild all their temples which I have burned.' It will be my business to do all this unless you prevent me. I will now give you my own sentiments: what infatuation can induce you to continue your hostilities against a king, to whom you can never be superior, and whom you cannot always resist! You already know the forces and exploits of Xerxes; neither can you be ignorant of the army under me. If you should even repel and conquer us; of which, if you be wise, you can indulge no hope, another army not inferior in strength will soon succeed ours. Do not, therefore, by endeavouring to render yourselves equal to so great a king, risk not only the loss of your native country, but the security of your persons: accept, therefore, of our friendship, and avail yourselves of the present honourable opportunity of averting the indignation of Xerxes. Be free; and let us mutually enter into a solemn alliance, without fraud or treachery. Hitherto, oh Athenians! I have used the sentiments and language of Mardonius: for my own part, it cannot be necessary to repeat what partiality I bear you, since you have experienced proofs of it before. Accept, therefore, the terms which Mardonius offers you: you cannot always continue your opposition to Xerxes: if I thought you could, you would not now have seen me. The power of

the king is prodigious, and extensive beyond that of any human being. If you shall refuse to accede to the advantageous proposals which are made you, I cannot but be greatly alarmed for your safety, who are so much more exposed to danger than the rest of the confederates; and who, possessing the region between the two armies, must be involved in certain ruin. Let then my offers prevail with you as their importance merit; for to you alone, of all the Greeks, the king forgives the injuries he has sustained, wishing to become your friend."

CXLI. The Lacedæmonians having heard that this prince was gone to Athens to invite the Athenians to an alliance with the Persian, were exceedingly alarmed. They could not forget the oracle which foretold that they, with the rest of the Dorians, should be driven from the Peloponnesus by a junction of the Medes with the Athenians, to whom, therefore, they lost no time in sending ambassadors. These were present at the Athenian council; for the Athenians had endeavoured to gain time, well-knowing that the Lacedæmonians would learn that an ambassador was come to invite them to a confederacy with the Persians, and would consequently send deputies to be present on the occasion: they therefore deferred the meeting, that the Lacedæmonians might be present at the declaration of their sentiments.

CXLII. When Alexander had finished speaking, the Spartan envoys made this immediate reply: "We have been deputed by the Spartans to entreat you not to engage in anything which may operate to the injury of our common country, nor listen to any propositions of Xerxes; such a conduct would not be equitable in itself, and would be particularly base in you, for various reasons: you were the first promoters of this war, in opposition to our opinions; it was first of all commenced in vindication of you

liberties, though all Greece was afterward drawn into the contest. It will be most of all intolerable that the Athenians should become the instruments of enslaving Greece, who, from times the most remote, have restored their liberties to many. Your present condition does not fail to excite in us sentiments of the sincerest pity, who, for two successive seasons, have been deprived of the produce of your lands, and have so long seen your mansions in ruin. From reflecting on your situation, we Spartans, in conjunction with your other allies, undertake to maintain, as long as the war shall continue, not only your wives, but such other parts of your families as are incapable of military service. Let not, therefore, this Macedonian Alexander, softening the sentiments of Mardonius, seduce you: the part he acts is consistent: a tyrant himself, he espouses the interest of a tyrant. If you are wise, you will always remember that the barbarians are always false and faithless."

CXLIII. After the above address of the Spartans the Athenians made this reply to Alexander: "It was not at all necessary for you to inform us that the power of the Persians was superior to our own: nevertheless, in defence of our liberties, we will continue our resistance to the utmost of our abilities. You may be assured that your endeavours to persuade us into an alliance with the barbarians never will succeed: tell, therefore, Mardonius, on the part of the Athenians, that as long as the sun shall continue its ordinary course, so long will we avoid any friendship with Xerxes, so long will we continue to resist him. Tell him we shall always look with confidence to the protecting assistance of those gods and heroes whose shrines and temples he has contemptuously destroyed. Hereafter do not you presume to enter an Athenian assembly with overtures of this kind, lest while you appear to mean us well,

you prompt us to do what is abominable.* We are unwilling that you should receive any injury from us, having been our guest and our friend."

CXLIV. The above was the answer given to Alexander; after which the Athenians thus spoke to the Lacedæmonians: "That the Spartans should fear our entering into an alliance with the barbarians seems natural enough; but in doing this, as you have had sufficient testimonies of Athenian firmness, you certainly did us injury. There is not on earth a quantity of gold, nor any country so rich or so beautiful, as to seduce us to take part with the Medes, or to act injuriously to the liberties of Greece. If of ourselves we were so inclined, there still exist many important circumstances to deter us: in the first place, and what is of all motives the most powerful, the shrines and temples of our deities, consumed by fire, and levelled with the ground, prompt us to the prosecution of a just revenge, and manifestly compel us to reject every idea of forming an alliance with him who perpetrated these impieties. In the next place, our common consanguinity, our using the same language, our worship of the same divinities, and our practice of the same religious ceremonies, render it impossible that the Athenians should prove perfidious. If you knew it not before, be satisfied now, that as long as one Athenian shall survive we will not be friends with Xerxes: in the mean time, your interest in our fortunes, your concern for the ruin of our mansions, and your offers to provide for the maintenance of our families, demand

* "Our ancestors so loved their country," says Lycurgus, "that they were very near stoning Alexander, the ambassador of Xerxes, and formerly their friend, because he required of them earth and water."

It was the circumstance of their being united to him by the ties of hospitality which induced the Athenians to spare his life. See my note on the ancient rites of hospitality.—T.

HER.—III.—C C

our gratitude, and may be considered as the perfection of generosity. We will, however, bear our misfortunes as we may be able, and not be troublesome to you: be it your care to bring your forces into the field as expeditiously as possible: it is not probable that the barbarian will long defer his invasion of our country: he will be on us as soon as he shall be informed that we have rejected his proposals: before he shall be able to penetrate into Attica it becomes us to advance to the assistance of Bœotia."

BOOK IX.

CALLIOPE.

CHAP. I. On receiving this answer from the Athenians, the ambassadors returned to Sparta. As soon as Mardonius heard from Alexander the determination of the Athenians, he moved from Thessaly, directing by rapid marches his course towards Athens. Wherever he came he furnished himself with supplies of troops. The princes of Thessaly were so far from repenting of the part they had taken, that they endeavoured still more to animate Mardonius. Of these, Thorax* of Larissa, who had attended Xerxes in his flight, now openly conducted Mardonius into Greece.

II. As soon as the army in its progress arrived at Bœotia the Thebans received Mardonius. They endeavoured to persuade him to fix his station where he was, assuring him that a place more convenient for a camp, or better adapted for the accomplishment of the purpose he had in view, could not be found. They told him that by staying here he might subdue the Greeks without a battle. He might be satisfied, they added, from his former experience, that as long as the Greeks were united, it would be impossible for any body of men to subdue them. "If," said they, "you will be directed by our advice, you will be able, without difficulty, to counteract their wisest counsels. Send a sum of money to the most power-

* He was the son of Aleaus, and with his two brothers Euryphus and Thrasydeius, were remarkable for their attachment to Xerxes.—*T.*

ful men in each city; you will thus create anarchy in Greece, and by the assistance of your partisans easily overcome all opposition."

III. This was the advice of the Thebans, which he was prevented from following,* partly by his earnest desire of becoming a second time master of Athens, and partly by his pride. He was also anxious to inform the king at Sardis, by means of fires† dispersed at certain distances along the islands, that he had taken Athens. Proceeding, therefore, to Attica, he found it totally deserted: the inhabitants, as he was informed, being either at Salamis or on board the fleet. He then took possession of Athens a second time, ten months after its capture by Xerxes.

IV. While he continued at Athens he despatched to Salamis Murychides, a native of the Hellespont, with the same propositions that Alexander the Macedonian had before made to the Athenians. He sent this second time, not that he was ignorant of the ill-will of the Athenians towards him, but because he hoped, that seeing Attica effectually subject to his power, their firmness would relax.

V. Murychides went to the council, and delivered the sentiments of Mardonius. A senator named Lycidas gave his opinion that the terms offered by Murychides were such as it became them to listen to, and communicate to the people: he said this, either from conviction, or seduced by the gold of Mardonius: but he had no sooner thus expressed himself, than both the Athenians who heard him, and those who were without, rushed with indignation on him, and stoned him‡ to death. Murychides they dis-

* Diodorus Siculus assures us, on the contrary, that Mardonius, while in Bœotia, did actually send money to the Peloponnesus, to detach the principal cities from the league.

† I have before spoken on this subject, and informed my reader how, in remoter times, intelligence of extraordinary events was communicated from one place to another by means of fires.

‡ A man of the name of Cyrillus had ten months before met

missed without injury. The Athenian women soon heard of the tumult which had been excited at Salamis on account of Lycidas, when, in a body, mutually stimulating each other, they ran impetuously to his house, and stoned his wife and his children.

VI. These were the inducements with the Athenians for returning to Salamis: as long as they entertained any expectation of assistance from the Peloponnesus they staid in Attica: but when they found their allies careless and inactive, and that Mardonius was already in Bœotia, they removed with all their effects to Salamis. At the same time they sent envoys to Lacedæmon, to complain that the Spartans, instead of advancing with them to meet the barbarian in Bœotia, had suffered him to enter Attica. They told them by what liberal offers the Persian had invited them to his friendship; and they forewarned them, that if they were not speedy in their communication of assistance, the Athenians must seek some other remedy. The Lacedæmonians were then celebrating what are called the Hyacinthia,*

a similar fate for having advised the people to stay in their city and receive Xerxes. The Athenian women in like manner stoned his wife. Cicero mentions the same fact, probably from Demosthenes.—*Larcher*.

The stoning a person to death was in remoter times not only resorted to by the people to gratify their fury against an obnoxious character, but it had the sanction of law, and was a punishment annexed to more enormous crimes. The extreme barbarity of it is too obvious to require discussion; we accordingly find it gradually disused as civilization extended its powerful influence. Within these last centuries, in all the distractions of civil, or the tumults occasioned by religious fanaticism, we meet with no example of any one's being stoned to death. A modern traveller informs us, that lapidation, or stoning to death, is a punishment at this time inflicted in Abyssinia for crimes against religion.—*T*.

* A particular description of this solemnity is given by Athenæus in his fourth book. They were celebrated in memory of the beautiful Hyacinthus, whose story must be sufficiently familiar; and they were accompanied by games in honour of

which solemnity they deem of the highest importance: they were also at work on the wall of the isthmus, of which the battlements were already erected.

VII. The Athenian deputies, accompanied by those of Megara and Platæa, arrived at Lacedæmon, and being introduced to the ephori,* thus addressed them: "We have to inform you, on the part of the Athenians, that the king of the Medes has expressed himself willing to restore us our country, and to form an alliance with us on equitable terms, without fraud or collusion: he has also engaged to give us any other country which we may choose, in addition to our own. We, however, though deserted and betrayed by the Greeks, have steadily refused all his offers, through reverence for the Grecian Jupiter,† and detestation of the crime of treachery to our countrymen. We are sensible that it would be more to our advantage to accept the barbarian's offered friendship than continue the object of his hostilities: we shall, however, be very unwilling to do so. Thus far we have discharged our duty to the Greeks with sincerity and candour; but you who were so greatly alarmed at the possibility of our becoming the confederates of Persia, when once you were convinced that we should continue faithful to Greece, and when you had nearly completed the wall on the isthmus, thought no further of us nor of our danger. You had agreed with us jointly to meet the barbarian in Bœo-

Apollo. They continued three days, and were exhibited at Amyclæ, in Laconia.—*T*.

* Of the ephori I have before spoken at some length, but I omitted to mention that the principal ephorus was called eponymus, as the principal archon was at Athens, and for the same reason.—*T*.

† Pausanius speaks of a temple erected to this Jupiter on a mountain called Panhellenium. It was said to have been erected by Æacus. There was also a festival called the Panelenia, celebrated by an assembly of people from the different parts of Greece.—*T*.

tia; but you never fulfilled the engagement, considering the entrance of the enemy into Attica of no importance. The Athenians, therefore, confess that they are incensed against you, as having violated your engagements. We now require you instantly to send us supplies, that we may be able to oppose the barbarian in Attica. We have failed in meeting him in Bœotia: but we think the plains of Thria in our own territories a convenient and proper place to offer him battle."

VIII. The ephori heard, but deferred answering them till the next day: when the morrow came they put them off till the day following; and this they did for ten days successively. In this interval the Peloponnesians prosecuted with great ardour on the isthmus their work on the wall, which they nearly completed. Why the Spartans discovered so great an anxiety on the arrival of Alexander at Athens lest the Athenians should come to terms with the Medes, and why now they did not seem to concern themselves about them, is more than I am able to explain, unless it was that the wall of the isthmus was finished, and therefore they did not want the aid of the Athenians; but when Alexander arrived at Athens this work was not completed, although, from terror of the Persians, they eagerly pursued it.

IX. The answer and motions of the Spartans were finally these: On the day preceding that which was last appointed, a man of Tegea, named Chileus,* who enjoyed at Lacedæmon greater reputation than any

* Plutarch, in the essay so often quoted, takes occasion in this place severely to reprobate Herodotus. "According to the historian," says he, "we are taught to believe, that if any private business had kept Chileus at home, or if the rites of private hospitality had not accidentally subsisted between this man and some of the ephori, the splendid victory of Platæa never would have happened." Surely it could not be necessary to inform a man of Plutarch's wisdom, that from causes equally insignificant, events not less important than the one here recorded have proceeded.—T.

other foreigner, inquired from one of the ephori what the Athenians had said; which when he knew, he thus addressed them: "Things, oh ephori! are thus circumstanced: If the Athenians, withdrawing from our alliance, shall unite with the Persian, strong as our wall on the isthmus may be, the enemy will still find an easy entrance into the Peloponnesus. Let us, therefore, hear them before they do anything which may involve Greece in ruin."

X. The ephori were so impressed by what Chileus had said, that without communicating with the deputies of the different states, while it was yet night, they sent away a detachment of five thousand Spartans, each accompanied by seven helots, under the conduct of Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus. The command properly belonged to Plistarchus,* son of Leonidas: he was yet a child, and Pausanias was his guardian and his uncle. Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and father of Pausanias, died very soon after having conducted back from the isthmus the detachment which constructed the wall. He had brought them back, because, while offering a sacrifice to determine whether he should attack the Persian, an eclipse† of the sun had happened. Pau-

* This prince, according to Pausanias, died at a very early age, and was succeeded by the Pausanias here mentioned.—*T.*

† That an eclipse in the early ages of ignorance and superstition should be deemed an inauspicious omen seems very natural. A partial deprivation of light or heat, contrary to their ordinary experience, and beyond their ability to account for or explain, must to untutored minds have had the appearance of preternatural interposition, and have seemed expressive of Divine displeasure.

Mr. Seldon makes no scruple to assert that the authors of the melancholy rites instituted in Phrygia in honour of Adonis had no other meaning than to represent thereby the access and recess of the sun. *Attes Hyes, Hyes Attes*, was the set form of exclamation used in these mysteries, which, as explained by Bochart, means, *tu es ignis, ille est ignis*, is consistent with Seldon's opinion, and justifies us in concluding, that ignis, fire or heat, whether solar or any other, whether real or symbolical, was the

sanias selected as his assistant in command Euryanactes, son of Dorieus, who was his relation.

XI. With these forces Pausanias left Sparta: the deputies, ignorant of the matter, when the morning came, went to the ephori, having previously resolved to return to their respective cities. "You, oh Lacedæmonians!" they exclaimed, "lingering here, solemnize the Hyacinthia, and are busy in your public games, basely deserting your allies. The Athenians, injured by you, and but little assisted by any, will make their peace with the Persians on the best terms they can obtain. When the enmity between us shall have ceased, and we shall become the king's allies, we shall fight with him wherever he may choose to lead us: you may know, therefore, what consequences you have to expect." In answer to this declaration of the ambassadors, the ephori protested on oath, that they believed their troops were already in Orestium, on their march against the strangers;* by which expression they meant the barbarians. The deputies, not understanding them, requested an explanation. When the matter was properly represented to them, they departed with astonishment to overtake them, accompanied by five thousand armed troops from the neighbourhood of Sparta.

XII. While these were hastening to the isthmus

chief thing intended and pointed at in these mysteries. Neither is it perhaps unworthy of remark, that Ezekiel was carried to the north door of the temple to behold the women lamenting Thamuz or Adonis.—*T.*

* I have before remarked that the ancients used the word barbarians in a much milder sense than we do. In the sense in which it is here used it occurs in the following classical lines of Milton:—

"High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Show'rs on her king *barbaric* pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat."—*T.*

the Argives,* as soon as they heard of the departure of Pausanias at the head of a body of troops from Sparta, sent one of their fleetest messengers to Mardonius in Attica. They had before undertaken to prevent the Lacedæmonians from taking the field. When their herald arrived at Athens, "I am sent," said he to Mardonius, "by the Argives, to inform you that the forces of Sparta are already on their march, and we have not been able to prevent them: avail yourself, therefore, of this information." Saying this, he returned.

XIII. Mardonius hearing this, determined to stay no longer in Attica. He had continued until this time, willing to see what measures the Athenians would take; and he had refrained from offering any kind of injury to the Athenian lands, hoping they would still make peace with him. When it was evident that this was not to be expected, he withdrew his army before Pausanias and his detachment arrived at the isthmus. He did not, however, depart without setting fire to Athens,† and levelling with the ground whatever of the walls, buildings, or temples, still remained entire. He was induced to quit his station because the country of Attica was ill

* Eustathius in Dionysius informs us that Apis having cleared the Peloponnesus of serpents, named it from himself Apia. He was afterward deified, and thence called Serapis; all which has a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Egyptians. From these serpents probably this part of the Peloponnesus was called Argus; for Argus, according to Hesychius, was used synonymously with Ophis, Serpens. But this is mere conjecture.—*T*.

† The fate of Athens has been various. It was burned by Xerxes; the following year by Mardonius; it was a third time destroyed in the Peloponnesian war; it received a Roman garrison to protect it against Philip, son of Demetrius, but was, not long afterward, ravaged and defaced by Sylla: in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius it was torn to pieces by Alaric, king of the Goths; and it is now as obscure and insignificant as it was once famous and splendid. When in its glory, the circumference of the walls of the city alone was seven miles and a half. Modern Athens is called Athini.—*T*.

adapted for cavalry, and because in case of defeat he had no other means of escape but through straits, where a handful of men might cut off his retreat. He therefore determined to move to Thebes, that he might have the advantage of fighting near a confederate city, and in a country convenient for his cavalry.

XIV. Mardonius was already on his march, when another courier came in haste to inform him that a second body of a thousand Spartans was moving towards Megara. He accordingly deliberated how he might intercept this latter party. Turning aside towards Megara,* he sent on his cavalry to ravage the Megarean lands. These were the extreme limits, on the western parts of Europe, to which the Persian army penetrated.

XV. Another messenger now came to tell him that the Greeks were assembled with great strength at the isthmus; he therefore turned back through Decelea. The Bœotian chiefs had employed their Asopian neighbours as guides, who conducted Mardonius first to Sphendaleas, and thence to Tanagra. At Tanagra Mardonius passed the night, and the next day came to Scolos, in the Theban territory. Here the lands of the Thebans, though the friends and allies of the Medes, were laid waste; not from any enmity, but from the urgent necessities of the army. The general was desirous to fortify his camp, and to have some place of refuge in case of defeat. His camp extended from Erythræ, by Hysiaë, as far as Platæa, on the banks of the Asopus. It was protected by a wall which did not continue the whole extent of the camp, but which occupied a space of

* Was at the point of middle distance between Athens and Corinth: it took its name either from Megaras, a son of Neptune, or Megareus, a son of Apollo. It was the native place of Euclid the Socratic, and of Theognis. There was a place of the same name in Sicily. The Megara here mentioned retains its ancient name.—T.

ten stadia in each of the four fronts. While the barbarians were employed on this work, Attaginus, the son of Phrynon, a Theban, gave a magnificent entertainment, to which Mardonius and fifty Persians of the highest rank were invited. They accepted the summons, and the feast was given at Thebes.

XVI. What I am now going to relate I received from Thersander, an Orchomenian, one of the most esteemed of his countrymen. He informed me that he was one of fifty Thebans whom Attaginus at the same time invited. They were so disposed at the entertainment, that a Theban and a Persian were on the same couch.* After the feast they began to drink cheerfully, when the Persian who was on the same couch, asked him, in Greek, what countryman he was. He replied, "An Orchomenian." "Well," answered the Persian, "since we have

* The ancients, in more remote times, sat at table as we do. Homer represents people as sitting round a table. Yet the custom of reclining on a couch at meals must have been practised very early, as is evident from this passage of Herodotus. The Romans also, in the earlier times of the republic, sat; and Montfaucon, expressing his surprise at this, inquires what could possibly induce the Romans, as they became more luxurious and voluptuous, to adopt a custom much less convenient and easy. He proceeds to give the following reason from Mercurialis, who says, that they first began to eat in a reclining attitude when the use of the bath became fashionable: it was their custom to bathe before supper; after bathing to lie down, and have their supper placed before them: it soon became universally the practice to eat in that posture. Heliogabalus had his sleeping beds and table beds of solid silver. See *Montfaucon*, vol. iii., 74. See also Harmer's *Observations on Passages of Scripture*, from which I extract the following:—

"The Persian carvings at Persepolis frequently exhibit a venerable personage sitting in a sort of high-raised chair, with a footstool; but the latter sovereigns of that country have sat with their legs under them, on some carpet or cushion laid on the floor, like their subjects. Two very ancient colossal statues in Egypt are placed on cubical stones, in the same attitude we make use of in sitting." In like manner, we find the figures on the ancient Syrian coins are represented sitting on seats as we do.—*T.*

feasted together, and partaken of the same libations,* I would wish to impress on your mind something which may induce you to remember me, and at the same time enable you to provide for your own security: You see the Persians present at this banquet, and you know what forces were encamped on the borders of the river: of all these in a short interval very few will remain." While he was saying this the Persian wept. His neighbour, astonished at the remark, replied: "Does it not become you to communicate this to Mardonius, and to those next him in dignity?" "My friend," returned the Persian, "it is not for man to counteract the decisions of Providence. Confidence is seldom obtained to the most obvious truths. A multitude of Persians think as I do; but, like me, they follow what it is not in their power to avoid. Nothing in human life is more to be lamented than that a wise man should have so little influence." This information I received from Thersander the Orchomenian, who also told me that he related the same to many before the battle of Plataea.

XVII. While Mardonius was stationed in Bœotia, all the Greeks who were attached to the Persians supplied him with troops, and joined him in his attack on Athens; the Phoceans alone did not: these had indeed, and with apparent ardour, favoured the Medes, not from inclination, but necessity. A few days after the entertainment given at Thebes they arrived with a thousand well-armed troops under the command of Harmocydes, one of their most popular citizens. Mardonius, on their following him to Thebes, sent some horsemen, commanding them to

* The Greek might as well have been rendered, drank of the same cup. This expression occurs with great beauty and effect in the lively allegorical description which Nathan gives David of his conduct. "It did eat of his own meat, and drank of his own cup," &c.—T.

halt by themselves in the plain where they were: at the same moment all the Persian cavalry appeared in sight. A rumour instantly circulated among those Greeks who were in the Persian camp that the Phoceans were going to be put to death by the cavalry. The same also spread among the Phoceans: on which account their leader Harmocydes thus addressed them: "My friends, I am convinced that we are destined to perish by the swords of these men, and from the accusations of the Thessalians. Let each man therefore prove his valour. It is better to die like men, exerting ourselves in our own defence, than to suffer ourselves to be slain tamely and without resistance: let these barbarians know that the men whose deaths they meditate are Greeks."

XVIII. With these words Harmocydes animated his countrymen. When the cavalry had surrounded them, they rode up as if to destroy them: they made a show of hurling their weapons, which some of them probably did. The Phoceans on this closed their ranks, and on every part fronted the enemy. The Persians, seeing this, faced about and retired. I am not able to decide whether, at the instigation of the Thessalians, the Phoceans were actually doomed to death; or whether, observing them determined to defend themselves, the Persians retired, from the fear of receiving some injury themselves, and as if they had been so ordered by Mardonius, merely to make experiment of their valour. After the cavalry were withdrawn, a herald came to them on the part of Mardonius. "Men of Phocis," he exclaimed, "be not alarmed; you have given a proof of resolution which Mardonius had been taught not to expect; assist us, therefore, in the war with alacrity, for you shall outdo neither me nor the king in generosity." The above is what happened with respect to the Phoceans.

XIX. The Lacedæmonians, arriving at the isth-

mus,* fortified their camp. As soon as this was known to the rest of the Peloponnesians all were unwilling to be surpassed by the Spartans, as well they who were actuated by a love of their country, as they who had seen the Lacedæmonians proceed on their march. The victims which were sacrificed having a favourable appearance, they left the isthmus in a body, and came to Eleusis. The sacrifices at this place being again auspicious, they continued to advance, having been joined at Eleusis by the Athenians, who had passed over from Salamis. On their arrival at Erythræ, in Bœotia, they first learned that the barbarians were encamped near the Asopus; consulting on which, they marched forward to the foot of Mount Cithæron.

XX. As they did not descend into the plain,† Mar-

* Diodorus Siculus says that the Peloponnesians, arriving at the isthmus, agreed without reserve to take the following oath.

"I will not prefer life to liberty: I will not desert my commanders, living or dead: I will grant burial to all the allies who shall perish in the contest. After having vanquished the barbarians, I will not destroy any city which contributed to their defeat: I will not rebuild any temple which they have burned or overturned; but I will leave them in their present condition, as a monument to posterity of the impiety of the barbarians."

Lycurgus says, and with great probability, that this oath was taken by the confederates at Platæa. The oath is there preserved, but it differs in some respect. It adds: "I will decimate all those who have taken part with the barbarians."—*Larcher.*

† Plutarch relates some particulars previous to this event which are worth transcribing.

While Greece found itself brought to a most delicate crisis, some Athenian citizens of the noblest families of the place, seeing themselves ruined by the war, and considering that with their effects they had also lost their credit and their influence, held some secret meetings, and determined to destroy the popular government of Athens; in which project if they failed, they resolved to ruin the state, and surrender Greece to the barbarians. This conspiracy had already made some progress, when it was discovered to Aristides. He at first was greatly alarmed, from the juncture at which it happened; but as he knew not

donius sent against them the whole of his cavalry, under the command of Masistius, called by the Greeks Macisius. He was a Persian of distinction, and was on this occasion mounted on a Nisæan horse, decorated with a bridle of gold, and other splendid trappings. When they came near the Greeks they attacked them in squadrons, did them considerable injury, and by way of insult, called them women.

XXI. The situation of the Megareans being most easy of access, was most exposed to the enemy's attack. Being hardly pressed by the barbarians, they sent a herald, who thus addressed the Grecian commanders: "We Megareans, oh allies! are unable to stand the shock of the enemy's cavalry in our present position; nevertheless, though closely pressed, we make a vigorous and valiant resistance. If you are not speedy in relieving us, we shall be compelled to quit the field." After this report of the heralds, Pausanias wished to see if any of the Greeks would voluntarily offer themselves to take the post of the Megareans. All refused, except a chosen band of three hundred Athenians, commanded by Olympiodorus the son of Lampon.

XXII. This body, which took on itself the defence of a post declined by all the other Greeks encamped at Erythræ, brought with them a band of archers. The engagement, after an obstinate dispute, terminated thus: The enemy's horse attacked in squadrons: the steed of Masistius, being conspicuous

the precise number of conspirators, he thought it expedient not to neglect an affair of so great importance, and yet not to investigate it too minutely, in order to give those concerned opportunity to repent. He satisfied himself with arresting eight of the conspirators: of these, two, as the most guilty, were immediately proceeded against; but they contrived to escape. The rest he dismissed, that they might show their repentance by their valour, telling them that a battle should be the great tribunal to determine their sincere and good intentions to their country.—*Plutarch's Life of Aristides. Larcher.*

above the rest, was wounded in the side by an arrow: it reared, and becoming unruly from the pain of the wound, threw its rider. The Athenians rushed on him, seized the horse, and notwithstanding his resistance, killed Masistius. In doing this, however, they had some difficulty, on account of his armour. Over a purple tunic he wore a breastplate covered with plates of gold. This repelled all their blows, which some person perceiving, killed him by wounding him in the eye.* The death of Masistius was unknown to the rest of his troops: they did not see him fall from his horse, and were ignorant of his fate, their attention being entirely occupied by succeeding in regular squadrons to the charge. At length making a stand, they perceived themselves without a leader. On this they mutually animated each other, and rushed in with united force on the enemy, to bring off the body† of Masistius.

XXIII. The Athenians seeing them advance no longer in successive squadrons, but in a collected body, called out for relief. While the infantry were moving to their support, the body of Masistius was vigorously disputed. While the three hundred were alone, they were compelled to give ground, and recede from the body; but other forces coming to their relief, the cavalry in their turn gave way, and,

* Plutarch says that Masistius was killed by a wound through the opening of his helmet.

† This was considered as a high point of honour in ancient military service. Some of the finest passages of Homer are found in his descriptions of battles about the dead bodies of the slain. The superstitious ideas which prevailed, from the circumstance of a deceased relative's not receiving the rites of burial, are beautifully employed by Sophocles in his *Antigone*. It seems a very natural impulse; but I remember no other instance where the Persians appear to have been tenacious with respect to this prejudice. Their obstinacy on this occasion might increase in the proportion in which they saw it exercised by their adversaries. On the customs of the Persians with respect to their dead, see book i., c. cxi., and note.—T.

with the body of their leader, lost a great number of their men. Retiring for the space of two stadia, they held a consultation, and being without a commander, determined to return to Mardonius.

XXIV. On their arrival at the camp, the death of Masistius spread a general sorrow through the army, and greatly afflicted Mardonius himself. They cut off the hair from themselves, their horses, and their beasts of burden, and all Bœotia resounded with their cries and lamentations. The man they had lost was, next to Mardonius, most esteemed by the Persians and the king. Thus the barbarians in their manner honoured the deceased Masistius.

XXV. The Greeks having not only sustained but repelled the attacks of the cavalry, were inspired with increasing resolution. The body of Masistius, which from its beauty and size deserved admiration, they placed on a carriage, and passed through the ranks,* while all quitted their stations to view it. They afterward determined to remove to Plataea: they thought this a more commodious place for a camp than Erythræ, as well for other reasons as because there was plenty of water. To this place, near which is the fountain of Gargaphia,† they resolved to go and pitch a regularly fortified camp. Taking their arms, they proceeded by the foot of Cithæron, and passing Hysiaë, came to Plataea. They drew themselves up in regular divisions of the different nations near the fountain of Gargaphia and

* Thus, in the twenty-second book of the Iliad, Achilles directs the body of Hector to be carried for inspection through the Grecian army:—

“Meanwhile, ye sons of Greece, in triumph bring
The corse of Hector, and your pæans sing.
Be this the song, slow moving tow’rds the shore:
‘Hector is dead, and Ilion is no more.’”—T.

† This place is celebrated in poetic story for being the place where Actæon was devoured by his dogs.—T.

the shrine of the hero Androcrates, some on a gently rising ground, others on the plain.

XXVI. In the arrangement of the several nations, a violent dispute arose between the Tegeans and Athenians, each asserting its claim to one of the wings; in vindication of which they appealed to their former as well as more recent exploits. The Tegeans spoke to this effect: "The post which we now claim has ever been given us by the joint consent of the allies, in all the expeditions made beyond the Peloponnesus: we not only speak of ancient but of less distant periods. After the death of Eurystheus, when the Heraclidæ* made an attempt to return to the Peloponnesus, the rank we now vindicate was allowed us on the following occasion: In conjunction with the Achæans and Ionians, who then possessed the Peloponnesus, we advanced as allies to the isthmus, encamping opposite to those who were endeavouring to return. At that time Hyllus made a proposition not to risk the safety of the two armies, but that the Peloponnesians should select the bravest man of all their army to engage him in single combat, on certain terms. The Peloponnesians assented, and an oath was taken to this effect: If Hyllus conquered the Peloponnesian chief, the Heraclidæ should be suffered to resume their paternal inheritance: if Hyllus was vanquished, the Heraclidæ were to retire; nor during the space of one hundred years make any effort to return to the Peloponnesus. Echemus, the son of Aeropus, and grandson of Phegeus, our leader and prince, was selected on this occasion by the voice of all the confederates. He encountered Hyllus and slew him. From this

* This speech of the Tegeatæ does not to me seem remarkably wise. They had better, I should suppose, have spoken but very tenderly of their exploits against the Heraclidæ in the presence of their immediate descendants, who, to punish their arrogance, might naturally assign the superiority to their rivals, although their pretensions were not so well founded.—*Larcher*.

exploit, the Peloponnesians of that period assigned us many honourable distinctions, which we still retain; and this in particular, that as often as any expedition should be made by their joint forces, we should command one of the wings. With you, oh Lacedæmonians! we do not enter into competition; we are willing that you should take your post in which wing you think proper; the command of the other, which has so long been allowed us, we claim now. Not to dwell on the action we have recited, we are certainly more worthy of this post than the Athenians. On your account, oh Spartans! as well as for the benefit of others, we have fought again and again with success and glory. Let not then the Athenians be on this occasion preferred to us; for they have never in an equal manner distinguished themselves in past or in more recent periods."

XXVII. The Athenians made this reply: "We are well aware that the motive of our assembling here is not to spend our time in altercations, but to fight the barbarians: but since it has been thought necessary to urge on the part of the Tegeatæ their ancient as well as more recent exploits, we feel ourselves obliged to assert that right, which we received from our ancestors, to be preferred to the Arcadians as long as we shall conduct ourselves well. These Heraclidæ, whose leader they boast to have slain at the isthmus, after being rejected by all the Greeks with whom they wished to take refuge from the servitude of the people of Mycenæ, found a secure retreat with us alone. In conjunction with them we chastised the insolence of Eurystheus, and obtained a complete victory over those who at that time possessed the Peloponnesus. The Argives, who under Polynices fought against Thebes, remaining unburied,* we undertook an expedition

* The sentiments of the ancients, with respect to the bodies

against the Cadmeans, recovered the bodies, and interred them in our country at Eleusis. A further instance of our prowess was exhibited in our repulsion of the Amazons, who advanced from the river Thermodon to invade Attica. We were no less conspicuous at the siege of Troy. But this recital is vain and useless: the people who were then illustrious might now be base, or dastards then might now be heroes. Enough, therefore, of the examples of our former glory, though we are still able to introduce more and greater; for if any of the Greeks at the battle of Marathon merited renown, we may claim this, and more also. On that day we alone contended with the Persian, and after a glorious and successful contest, were victorious over an army of forty-six different nations: which action must confessedly entitle us to the post we claim: but in the present state of affairs, all dispute about rank is unreasonable: we are ready, oh Lacedæmonians! to oppose the enemy wherever you shall choose to station us. Wherever we may be, we shall endeavour to behave like men. Lead us, therefore; we are ready to obey you."

of the dead remaining unburied, cannot be better expressed than in the following lines of Homer, which I give in the version of Pope. The shade of Patroclus, in the twenty-third book, thus addresses Achilles:—

" ' And sleeps Achilles'—thus the phantom said—
 ' Sleeps my Achilles, his Patroclus dead?
 Living, I seem'd his dearest, tenderest care;
 But now forgot, I wander in the air.
 Let my pale corse the rites of burial know,
 And give me entrance in the realms below:
 Till then, the spirit finds no resting-place;
 But here and there the unbodied spectres chase
 The vagrant dead around the dark abode,
 Forbid to cross th' irremeable flood.
 Now give thy hand; for to the farther shore,
 When once we pass, the soul returns no more:
 When once the last funereal flames ascend,
 No more shall meet Achilles and his friend,' " &c.—*T*.

XXVIII. When the Athenians had thus delivered their sentiments, the Lacedæmonians were unanimous in declaring that the Arcadians must yield to the people of Athens the command of one of the wings. They accordingly took their station in preference to the Tegeatæ. The Greeks who came afterward, with those who were present before, were thus disposed. The Lacedæmonians, to the number of ten thousand, occupied the right wing; of these, five thousand were Spartans, who were followed by thirty-five thousand helots lightly armed, allowing seven helots to each Spartan. The Tegeatæ, to the number of fifteen hundred, were placed by the Spartans next themselves, in consideration of their valour, and as a mark of honour. Nearest the Tegeatæ were five thousand Corinthians, who, in consequence of their request to Pausanias, had contiguous to them three hundred Potidæans of Pallene. Next in order were six hundred Arcadians of Orchomenus, three thousand Sicyonians, eight hundred Epidaurians, and a thousand Trœzenians. Contiguous to these last were two hundred Lepreatæ: next to whom were four hundred Myceneans and Tirynthians. Stationed by the Tirynthians were in regular succession a thousand Phliasians, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians and Styreans: next came four hundred Chalcidians, five hundred Ampraciæ, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians; to whom two hundred Paleans of Cephallenia, and five hundred Æginetæ, successively joined. Three thousand Megareans and six hundred Plateans were contiguous to the Athenians, who, to the number of eight thousand, under the command of Aristides, son of Lysimachus, occupied the left wing at the other extremity of the army.

XXIX. The amount of this army, independent of the seven helots to each Spartan, was thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men, all of them completely armed, and drawn together to repel the barbarian.

Of the light-armed troops were the thirty-five thousand helots, each well-prepared for battle, and thirty-four thousand five hundred attendant on the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks, reckoning a light-armed soldier to every man: the whole of these, therefore, amounted to sixty-nine thousand five hundred.

XXX. Thus the whole of the Grecian army assembled at Platæa, including both the heavy and the light-armed troops, was one hundred and eight thousand two hundred men: adding to these one thousand and eight hundred Thespians who were with the Greeks, but without arms, the complete number was one hundred and ten thousand. These were encamped on the banks of the Asopus.*

XXXI. The barbarian army having ceased to lament Masistius, as soon as they knew that the Greeks were advanced to Platæa, marched also to that part of the Asopus nearest to it, where they were thus disposed by Mardonius. Opposed to the Lacedæmonians were the Persians, who, as they were superior in number, fronted the Tegeatæ also. Of this body, the select part was opposed to the Lacedæmonians, the less effective to the Tegeatæ. In making which arrangement, Mardonius followed the advice of the Thebans. Next to the Persians were the Medes, opposed to the Corinthians, Potidæans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians. The Bactrians were placed next to encounter the Epidaurians, Trœzeni-

* An ingenious plan of this battle, which may give the reader a general idea of the respective situations of the two armies, may be seen in the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*. In the description of places, every succeeding observation of different travellers confirms the fidelity and accuracy of Herodotus. On this subject Mr. Wood speaks thus: "I would not encourage that diffidence in Herodotus which has already been carried too far. Were I to give my opinion of him, having followed him through most of the countries which he visited, I would say that he is a writer of veracity in his description of what he *saw*, but of credulity in his relations of what he *heard*."—*T*.

ans, Lepreatæ, Tirynthians, Myceneans, Phliasians. Contiguous to the Bactrians the Indians were disposed, in opposition to the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcidians. The Sacæ, next in order, fronted the Ampraciataæ, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetæ. The Athenians, Plataeans, and Megareans were ultimately faced by the Boeotians, Locrians, Melians, Thessalians, and a thousand Phoceans. All the Phoceans did not assist the Medes; some of them about Parnassus favoured the Greeks, and from that station attacked and harassed both the troops of Mardonius and those of the Greeks who were with him. The Macedonians and Thessalians were also opposed to the Athenians.

XXXII. In this manner Mardonius arranged those nations who were the most numerous and the most illustrious; with these were promiscuously mixed bodies of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, and others. To the above might be added the Ethiopians, and those Egyptians named Hermotybians and Calasirians, who alone of that country follow the profession of arms. These had formerly served on board the fleet, whence they had been removed to the land forces by Mardonius when at Phalerum; the Egyptians had not been reckoned with those forces which Xerxes led against Athens. We have before remarked that the barbarian army consisted of three hundred thousand men; the number of the Greek confederates of Mardonius, as it was never taken, cannot be ascertained; as far as conjecture may determine, they amounted to fifty thousand. Such was the arrangement of the infantry; the cavalry were posted apart by themselves.

XXXIII. Both armies being thus ranged in nations and squadrons, on the following day offered sacrifices. The divine on the part of the Greeks was Tisamenus, the son of Antiochus, who had accompanied the Grecian army in this character. He was an Elean of the race of Jamida, and of the

family of Clytiadæ, but had been admitted to the rights of a Lacedæmonian citizen. Having consulted the oracle at Delphi concerning his offspring, the Pythian informed him he should be victorious in five remarkable contests. Tisamenus not understanding this, applied himself to gymnastic exercises, presuming it was here he was to expect renown and victory: becoming, therefore, a competitor in the Pentathlon, he carried off all the prizes, except that of "wrestling," in which he was foiled by Hieronymus, an Andrian. The Lacedæmonians, however, applying the oracular declaration to Tisamenus not to gymnastic but military contests, endeavoured to prevail on him by money to accompany their kings, the Heraclidæ, as a leader in their warlike enterprises. He, observing that his friendship was of importance to the Spartans, endeavoured to make the most of it: he told them that if they would admit him to all the privileges of a citizen of Sparta, they might expect his services, otherwise not. The Spartans were at first incensed, and for a time neglected him: but when the terror of the Persian army was impending, they acceded to his terms. Tisamenus seeing them thus changed, increased his demand,* and insisted on their making his brother Hegies also a citizen of Sparta.

XXXIV. In this conduct he seems to have imitated the example of Melampus, excepting that the one claimed a throne, the other the rights of a citizen. Melampus was invited from Pylos by the Ar-

* The story of the sibylline books will here occur to the reader. A woman came to Tarquin with nine books of the oracles of the sibyls, which she offered to sell: the king hesitating about the price, she went away and burned three of them, and then came and asked the same price for the remaining six: Tarquin again refused to accede to her demand; she accordingly went away and burned three more, and returning, still asked the same price. The augurs advised the king to pay her, and preserve the books as sacred, which was done.--T.

gives, for a certain proposed compensation, to remove a kind of madness which prevailed among their women. The Argives, on his requiring half of their kingdom,* disdained and left him: but as the disease continued to spread still further among their females, they returned to him, accepting his terms: he, observing this change, extended his views; refusing to accomplish what they desired, unless they would also give a third part to his brother Bias: the Argives, compelled by necessity, granted this also.

XXXV. In like manner the Spartans, from their want of the assistance of Tisamenus, granted all that he desired. He, from being an Elean, thus became a Spartan; and assisting them as a divine, they obtained five remarkable victories. The Spartans never admitted but these two strangers into the number of their citizens. The five victories were these: The first was this of Plataea; the second was the battle of Tegea, won by the Spartans against the Tegeatæ and the Argives; the third at Dipæa, against all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans; the fourth was over the Messenians, at the isthmus; the last at Tanagra, against the Athenians and Argives, which completed the predicted number.

XXXVI. This Tisamenus officiated as the augur of the Greeks at Plataea, to which place he had accompanied the Spartans. The sacrifices promised victory to the Greeks, if they acted on the defen-

* These men sometimes sold their knowledge at a very high price. There were diviners and soothsayers in all parts of Greece; but Elis of the Peloponnesus was particularly remarkable for two families, the Jamidæ and the Clytidæ, who for many generations transmitted the art of divination from father to son.—*T.*

Melampus is thus mentioned in the *Odyssey* :—

“A wretch ran breathless to the shore,
New from his crime, and reeking yet with gore;
A seer he was, from great Melampus sprung,
Melampus, who in Pyles flourished long.”—*T.*

sive ; but the contrary, if passing the Asopus, they began the fight.

XXXVII. Mardonius, though anxious to engage, had nothing to hope from the entrails, unless he acted on the defensive only. He had also sacrificed according to the Grecian rites, using as his sooth-sayer Hegesistratus, an Elean, and the most illustrious of the Telliadæ. The Spartans had formerly seized this man, thrown him into prison, and menaced him with death, as one from whom they had received many and atrocious injuries. In this distress, alarmed not merely for his life, but with the idea of having previously to suffer many severities, he accomplished a thing which can hardly be told. He was confined in some stocks bound with iron ; but accidentally obtaining a knife, he perpetrated the boldest thing which has ever been recorded. Calculating what part of the remainder he should be able to draw out, he cut off the extremity of his foot ; this done, notwithstanding he was guarded, he dug a hole under the wall, and escaped to Tegea, travelling only by night, and concealing himself in the woods during the day. Eluding the strictest search of the Lacedæmonians, he came on the third night to Tegea ; his keepers being astonished at his resolution, for they saw the half of his foot, but could not find the man. In this manner Hegesistratus escaped to Tegea, which was not at that period in amity with Sparta. When his wound was healed he procured himself a wooden foot, and became an avowed enemy of Sparta. His animosity, however, against the Lacedæmonians proved ultimately of no advantage to himself ; he was taken in the exercise of his office at Zacynthus, and put to death.

XXXVIII. The fate of Hegesistratus was subsequent to the battle of Plataæ ; but at the time of which we were speaking, Mardonius, for a considerable sum, had prevailed with him to sacrifice, which he eagerly did, as well from his hatred of the

Lacedæmonians as from the desire of reward : but the appearance of the entrails gave no encouragement to fight, either to the Persians or their confederate Greeks, who also had their own appropriate soothsayer, Hippomachus of Leucadia. As the Grecian army continually increased, Timogenides of Thebes, son of Herpys, advised Mardonius to guard the pass of Cithæron; representing that he might thus intercept great bodies, who were every day thronging to the allied army of the Greeks.

XXXIX. The hostile armies had already remained eight days encamped opposite to each other when the above counsel was given to Mardonius. He acknowledged its propriety; and immediately on the approach of night detached some cavalry to that part of Cithæron leading to Platæa; a place called by the Bœotians the "Three Heads," by the Athenians, the "Heads of Oak." This measure had its effect; and they took a convoy of five hundred beasts of burden, carrying a supply of provisions from the Peloponnesus to the army: with the carriages they took also all the men who conducted them. Masters of this booty, the Persians, with the most unrelenting barbarity, put both men and beasts to death: when their cruelty was satiated they returned with what they had taken to Mardonius.

XL. After this event two days more passed, neither army being willing to engage. The barbarians, to irritate the Greeks, advanced as far as the Asopus; but neither army would pass the stream. The cavalry of Mardonius greatly and constantly harassed the Greeks. The Thebans, who were very zealous in their attachment to the Medes, prosecuted the war with ardour, and did everything but join battle; the Persians and Medes supported them, and performed many illustrious actions.

XLI. In this situation things remained for the space of ten days: on the eleventh, the armies retaining the same position with respect to each other,

and the Greeks having received considerable reinforcements, Mardonius became disgusted with their inactivity. He accordingly held a conference with Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who was one of the few Persians whom Xerxes honoured with his esteem: it was the opinion of Artabazus that they should immediately break up their camp, and withdraw beneath the walls of Thebes, where was already prepared a magazine of provisions for themselves, and corn for their cavalry: here they might at their leisure terminate the war by the following measures: They had in their possession a great quantity of coined and uncoined gold, with an abundance of silver and plate; it was recommended to send these with no sparing hand to the Greeks, and particularly to those of greatest authority in their respective cities. It was urged, that if this were done, the Greeks would soon surrender their liberties, nor again risk the hazard of a battle. This opinion was seconded by the Thebans, who thought it would operate successfully. Mardonius was of a contrary opinion; fierce, obstinate, and unyielding. His own army he thought superior to that of the Greeks, and that they should by all means fight before the Greeks received further supplies: that they should give no importance to the declarations of Hegesistratus; but, without violating the laws of Persia, commence a battle in their usual manner.

XLII. This opinion of Mardonius nobody thought proper to oppose; for to him, and not to Artabazus, the king had confided the supreme command of the army. He therefore assembled the principal officers of the Persians and confederate Greeks, and asked them whether they knew of any oracle predicting that the Persians should be overthrown by the Greeks. No one ventured to reply, partly because they were ignorant of any such oracle, and partly because they were fearful of delivering their real sentiments. Mardonius therefore thus addressed them:

"As either you know no such oracle, or dare not say what you think, I will tell you my opinion, which I conceive to be well founded: an oracle has said that the Persians, on their entering Greece, shall plunder the temple of Delphi, and in consequence be destroyed. Being aware of this, we will not approach that temple, nor make any attempt to plunder it, and thus shall avoid the ruin which has been menaced: let then all those among you who wish well to Persia rejoice in the conviction that we shall vanquish the Greeks." Having said this, he ordered that everything should be properly disposed to commence the attack early in the morning.

XLIII. The oracle which Mardonius applied to the Persians referred, as I well know, not to them, but to the Illyrians and Encheleans.* On the event of this battle this oracle had been communicated from Bacis:—

"Thermodon's and Asopus' banks along,
The Greeks in fight against barbarians throng;
What numbers then shall press the ensanguined field,
What slaughter'd Medes their vital breath shall yield!"

These words, and others of Musæus like them, doubtless related to the Persians. The Thermodon flows between Tanagra and Glisas.

* Pausanias, who describes with so much exactness the antiquities of Greece, does not (in Phocis) say anything either of the plunder of the temple of Delphi, or of the calamities of the people concerned in it. Appian says that the Antanians, who were an Illyrian nation, plundered this temple, and were destroyed by a pestilence. Something more to the purpose is found in Euripides: Bacchus discovers to Cadmus an oracle of Jupiter, which predicted to him, that when he should retire among the Illyrians and Encheleans, he should reign over these people, and that they should destroy a vast number of cities; but that after having plundered the temple of Delphi, they should have an unfortunate return. If we had the oracle itself, we might see in what manner Mardonius applied it to the Persians.—*Larcher.*

XLIV. After Mardonius had thus spoken concerning the oracles, and endeavoured to animate his troops, the watches of the night were set. When the night was far advanced, and the strictest silence prevailed through the army, which was buried in sleep, Alexander, son of Amyntas, general and prince of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts, and earnestly desired to speak with their commanders. On hearing this the greater number continued on their posts, while some hastened to their officers, whom they informed that a horseman was arrived from the enemy's army, who, naming the principal Greeks, would say nothing more than that he desired to speak with them.

XLV. The commanders* lost no time in repairing to the advanced guard; where, on their arrival, they were thus addressed by Alexander: "I am come, oh Athenians! to inform you of a secret, which you must impart to Pausanias only, lest my ruin ensue. Nor would I speak now, were I not anxious for the safety of Greece. I, from remote antiquity, am of Grecian origin; and I would not willingly see you exchange freedom for servitude: I have, therefore, to inform you, that if Mardonius and his army could have drawn favourable omens from their victims, a battle would long since have taken place. Intending to pay no further attention to these, it is his determination to attack you early in the morning; being afraid, as I suppose, that your forces will be yet more numerous. Be therefore on your guard: but if he still defer his purpose of an engagement, do you remain where you are; for he has provisions but for a few days more. If the event of this war should be

* Plutarch, who mentions this interview, speaks only of Aristides. "A man on horseback," says he, "approached silently the Grecian camp, and addressing himself to the sentinels, desired to speak with Aristides, who came immediately."—*Larcher*.

agreeable to your wishes, it will become you to make some efforts to restore my independence ; who, on account of my partiality to the Greeks, have exposed myself to so much danger in thus acquainting you with the intention of Mardonius, to prevent the barbarians attacking you by surprise. I am Alexander of Macedon." When he had thus spoken he returned to his station in the Persian camp.

XLVI. The Athenian chiefs went to the right wing, and informed Pausanias of what they had learned from Alexander. Pausanias, who stood in much awe* of the Persians, addressed them thus in reply : "As a battle is to take place in the morning, I think it advisable that you, Athenians, should front the Persians, and we those Bœotians and Greeks who are now posted opposite to you. You have before contended with the Medes, and know their mode of fighting by

* Commenting on this passage, Wesseling asks, if Pausanias had forgotten the noble defence of the three hundred Spartans at the straits of Thermopylæ ; and if their glorious deaths had rendered the Persians more terrible. To this Larcher replies, in a manner not entirely satisfactory : he observes that the Spartans on that occasion, being all slain, there was not one in the army of Pausanias who had been engaged against the Persians, and who was acquainted with their mode of fighting.

It seems very singular that M. Larcher should not remember that there was a man in the army of Pausanias who had fought with the Persians, escaped the great destruction of his countrymen, and consequently could have informed his fellow-soldiers in what manner the Persians fought. See chapter lxx. of this book, in which we are told that Aristodemus, who escaped from Thermopylæ, most distinguished himself at Platæa, in order to retrieve his reputation. We find also that Leonidas had sustained many battles with the flower of the Persian army, aided by his Grecian allies, before he devoted himself and his three hundred to death, dismissing all the rest of his army.

But after all, the most serious objection to this passage of Herodotus is, that it evidently militates with the received opinions of the discipline of Sparta, and the patient fortitude which was the characteristic feature of that singular people.—*T.*

experience at Marathon: we have never had this opportunity; but we have before fought the Bœotians and Thessalians: take, therefore, your arms, and let us exchange situations." "From the first," answered the Athenians, "when we observed the Persians opposed to you, we wished to make the proposal* we now hear from you: we have only been deterred by our fear of offending you: as the overture comes from you we are ready to comply with it."

XLVII. This being agreeable to both, as soon as the morning dawned they changed situations: this the Bœotians observed, and communicated to Mardonius. The Persian general immediately exerted himself to oppose the Lacedæmonians with his troops. Pausanias, on seeing his scheme thus detected, again removed the Spartans to the right wing, as did Mardonius instantly his Persians to the left.

XLVIII. When the troops had thus resumed their former posts, Mardonius sent a herald with this message to the Spartans: "Your character, oh Lacedæmonians! is highly celebrated among all these nations, as men who disdain to fly; who never desert your ranks; determined either to slay your enemies or die. Nothing of this is true: we perceive you in the act of retreating, and of deserting your posts before a battle is commenced: we see you delegating to the Athenians the more dangerous attempt of opposing us, and placing yourselves against our slaves; neither of which actions is consistent with bravery. We are, therefore, greatly deceived in our opinion of you: we expected that from a love of glory you would have despatched a herald to us, expressing yourselves desirous to combat with the Persians alone. Instead of this we find you alarmed

* According to Plutarch, the Grecian leaders were at first exceedingly offended at this conduct of Pausanias, but were pacified by the remonstrances of Aristides.

and terrified : but as you have offered no challenge to us, we propose one to you. As you are esteemed the most illustrious of your army, why may not an equal number of you, on the part of the Greeks, and of us on the part of the barbarians, contend for victory ? If it be agreeable to you, the rest of our common forces may afterward engage : if this be unnecessary, we will alone engage ; and whichever conquers shall be esteemed victorious over the whole* of the adverse army."

XLIX. The herald, after delivering his commission, waited some time for an answer ; not receiving any, he returned to Mardonius. He was exceedingly delighted ; and already anticipating victory, sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks : these with their lances and arrows materially distressed the Grecian army, and forbade any near approach. Advancing to the Gargaphian fountain, which furnished the Greeks with water, they disturbed and stopped it up. The Lacedæmonians alone were stationed near this fountain ; the other Greeks, according to their different stations, were more or less distant ; but all of them in the vicinity of the Asopus : but as they were debarred from watering here, by the missile weapons of the cavalry, they all came to the fountain.

L. In this predicament the leaders of the Greeks, seeing the army cut off from the water, and harassed by the cavalry, came in crowds to Pausanias, on the right wing, to deliberate about these and other emergencies. Unpleasant as the present incident might be, they were still more distressed from their want of

* Such partial challenges, as preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, seem in cases of unavoidable hostilities most consonant to the dictates of humanity, and we find them frequently adopted in the earlier ages of the world. The histories of Greece and Rome abound with innumerable examples of this kind : as war gradually refined into a science, they came into disuse, and in later times have been totally laid aside. —T.

provision : their servants, who had been despatched to bring this from the Peloponnesus, were prevented by the cavalry from returning to the camp.

LI. The Grecian leaders, after deliberating on the subject, determined, if the Persians should for one day more defer coming to an engagement, to pass to the island opposite to Platæa, and about ten stadia from the Asopus and the fountain Gargaphia, where they were at present encamped. This island is thus connected with the continent : the river, descending from Cithæron to the plain, divides itself into two streams, which, after flowing separately for about the distance of three stadia, again unite ; thus forming the island which is called the Oëroë, who, according to the natives, is the daughter of Asopus. The Greeks by this measure proposed to themselves two advantages : first, to be secure of water ; and secondly, to guard against being further annoyed by the enemy's cavalry. They resolved to decamp at the time of the second watch* by night, lest the Persians, perceiving them, should pursue and harass them with their cavalry. It was also their intention, when arrived at the spot where the Asopian Oëroë is formed by the division of the waters flowing from Cithæron, to detach one half of their army to the mountain to relieve a body of their servants, who, with a convoy of provisions, were there encompassed.

LII. After taking the above resolutions, they remained all that day much incommoded by the enemy's horse : when these, at the approach of evening, retired, and the appointed hour was arrived, the greater part of the Greeks began to move with their

* About four hours after sunset. The Greeks divided the night into three watches.—*Larcher*.

The Romans divided the night into four watches. They had a *tessera*, on which something was inscribed ; this was given from one centurion to another throughout the army, till it returned to the man from whom it was first received.—*T*.

baggage, but without any design of proceeding to the place before resolved on. The moment they began to march, occupied with no idea but that of escaping the cavalry, they retired towards Platæa, and fixed themselves near the temple of Juno, which is opposite to the city, and at the distance of twenty stadia from the fountain of Gargaphia: in this place they encamped.

LIII. Pausanias, observing them in motion, gave orders to the Lacedæmonians to take their arms, and follow their route; presuming they were proceeding to the appointed station. The officers all showed themselves disposed to obey the orders of Pausanias, except Amompharetus, the son of Poliadas, captain of the band of Pitanaatæ, who asserted that he would not fly before the barbarians, and thus be accessary to the dishonour of Sparta: he had not been present at the previous consultation, and knew not what was intended. Pausanias and Euryanax, though indignant at his refusal to obey the orders which had been issued, were still but little inclined to abandon the Pitanaatæ, on the account of their leader's obstinacy; thinking, that by their prosecuting the measure which the Greeks in general had adopted, Amompharetus and his party must unavoidably perish. With these sentiments the Lacedæmonians were commanded to halt; and pains were taken to dissuade the man from his purpose; who alone, of all the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, was determined not to quit his post.

LIV. At this crisis, the Athenians determined to remain quiet on their posts; knowing it to be the genius of the Lacedæmonians to say one thing and think another.* But as soon as they observed the

* Artifice and cunning were adopted by Lycurgus in the system of his politics. To *æolise*, or to deceive, was made a distinguishing note and maxim of the Spartan government. The care which they took at Sparta to train their youth in the arts of wiliness and deceit, the applause which was bestowed on the

troops in motion they despatched a horseman to learn whether the Lacedæmonians intended to remove, and to inquire of Pausanias what was to be done.

LV. When the messenger arrived, he found the men in their ranks, but their leaders in violent altercation. Pausanias and Euryanax were unsuccessfully attempting to persuade Amompharetus not to involve the Lacedæmonians alone in danger by remaining behind, when the Athenian messenger came up to them. At this moment, in the violence of dispute, Amompharetus took up a stone with both his hands, and throwing it at the feet of Pausanias, exclaimed, "There is my vote for not flying before the foreigners:" so terming the barbarians. Pausanias, after telling him that he could be only actuated by phrensy, turned to the Athenian, who delivered his commission. He afterward desired him to return, and communicate to the Athenians the state in which he found them, and to entreat them immediately to join their forces, and act in concert, as should be deemed expedient.

LVI. The messenger accordingly returned to the Athenians, while the Spartan chiefs continued their disputes till the morning. Thus far Pausanias remained indecisive; but thinking, as the event proved, that Amompharetus would certainly not stay behind, if the Lacedæmonians actually advanced, he gave orders to all the forces to march forward by the

young knave who excelled therein, and the chastisement inflicted on the lad who miscarried, and was detected, show that they were reconciled to their name in its worst acceptation. To give it the best construction, we ought to consider that the object Lycurgus had in view was to render the people expert in the stratagems of war.—*Xenoph. de Lac. Rep.* The arms of the Spartan monarchy was an eagle holding a serpent; symbolically representing a superiority of cunning: with this seal was their letter signed which they sent to Onias the high priest—See *Joseph. A. J.*, l. xii., c. 5. See also the Trachinise of Sophocles.
—T.

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heights, in which they were followed by the Tegeans. The Athenians, keeping close to their ranks, pursued a route opposite to that of the Lacedæmonians : these last, who were in great awe of the cavalry, advanced by the steep paths which led to the foot of Mount Cithæron : the Athenians marched over the plain.

LVII. Amompharetus, never imagining that Pausanias would venture to abandon them, made great exertions to keep his men on their posts ; but when he saw Pausanias advancing with his troops, he concluded himself effectually given up : taking, therefore, his arms, he with his band proceeded slowly after the rest of the army. These continuing their march for a space of ten stadia, came to a place called Argiopiûs, near the river Moloës, where is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, and there halted, waiting for Amompharetus and his party. The motive of Pausanias in doing this was, that he might have the opportunity of returning to the support of Amompharetus, if he should be still determined not to quit his post. Here Amompharetus and his band joined them ; the whole force of the enemy's horse continuing as usual to harass them. As soon as the barbarians discovered that the spot where the Greeks had before encamped was deserted, they put themselves in motion, overtook, and materially distressed them.

LVIII. Mardonius, being informed that the Greeks had decamped by night, and seeing their former station unoccupied, sent for Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypilus and Thrasydæus, and thus addressed them : " Sons of Aleuas, what will you now say, seeing the Lacedæmonians desert their post ; whom you, their neighbours, asserted to be men who never fled, but were above all others valiant ? You have before seen them change their station in the camp ; and you find, that in the last night they have actually taken themselves to flight. They have now

shown, that being opposed by men of undisputed courage, they are of no reputation themselves, and are as contemptible as their fellow Greeks: but as you may have had some testimony of their prowess, without being spectators of ours, I can readily enough forgive the praises which you rendered them. But that Artabazus, from his terror of these Spartans, should assert an opinion full of pusillanimity, and endeavour to prevail on us to leave this station, and retire to Thebes, fills me with astonishment. The king, however, shall hear from me of his conduct; but of this more hereafter: let us, therefore, not suffer these men to escape, but pursue them vigorously, and chastise them with becoming severity for their accumulated injuries to Persia."

LIX. Having thus expressed himself, he led the Persians over the Asopus, and pursued the path which the Greeks had taken, whom he considered as flying from his arms. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were the sole objects of his attack; for the Athenians, who had marched over the plain, were concealed by the hills from his view. The other Persian leaders seeing the troops moving, as if in pursuit of the Greeks, raised their standards, and followed the rout with great impetuosity, but without regularity or discipline: they hurried on with tumultuous shouts, considering the Greeks as absolutely in their power.

LX. When Pausanias found himself thus pressed by the cavalry he sent a horseman with the following message to the Athenians: "We are menaced, oh Athenians! by a battle, the event of which will determine the freedom or slavery of Greece; and in this perplexity you as well as ourselves have in the preceding night been deserted by our allies. It is, nevertheless, our determination to defend ourselves to the last, and to render you such assistance as we may be able. If the enemy's horse had attacked

you, we should have thought it our duty to have marched with the Tegeatæ, who are in our rear, and still faithful to Greece, to your support. As the whole operation of the enemy seems directed against us, it becomes you to give us the relief we materially want; but if you yourselves are so circumstanced as to be unable to advance to our assistance, at least send us a body of archers. We confess that in this war your activity has been far the most conspicuous, and we therefore presume on your compliance with our request."

LXI. The Athenians, without hesitation, and with determined bravery, advanced to communicate the relief which had been required. When they were already on their march, the confederate Greeks in the service of the king intercepted and attacked them: they were thus prevented from assisting the Lacedæmonians; a circumstance which gave them extreme uneasiness. In this situation, the Spartans, to the amount of fifty thousand light-armed troops, with three thousand Tegeatæ,* who on no occasion were separated from them, offered a solemn sacrifice,† with the resolution of encountering Mardonius

* Of the Spartans there were	5000
Seven helots to each Spartan	35,000
Lacedæmonians	5000
A light-armed soldier to each Lacedæmonian	5000
Tegeatæ	1500
Light-armed Tegeatæ	1500
	<hr/>
	53,000

See chapters xxviii. and xxix.

† Plutarch gives various particulars of this action, omitted by Herodotus, which the reader, perhaps, may as well like to see in the words of Glover, who has almost literally copied Plutarch:—

"Slain is the victim, but the inspecting seer
Reveals no sign propitious. Now fullnigh
The foremost Persian horse discharge around
Their javelins, darts, and arrows. Sparta's chief,
In calm respect of inauspicious heaven,

The victims, however, were not auspicious, and in the mean time many of them were slain, and more wounded. The Persians, under the protection of their bucklers,* showered their arrows on the Spar-

Directs each soldier at his foot to rest
 The passive shield, submissive to endure
 Th' assault, and watch a signal from the gods.
 A second time unfavourable prove
 The victim's entrails : unremitting showers
 Of pointed arms distribute wounds and death.
 A second victim bleeds : the gath'ring foes
 To multitude are grown : the showers of death
 Increase. Then melted into flowing grief
 Pausanian pride. He towards the fane remote
 Of Juno lifting his afflicted eyes
 Thus suppliant spake : ' Oh goddess ! let my hopes
 Be not defeated, whether to obtain
 A victory so glorious, or expire
 Without dishonour to Herculean blood.'
 The sacrifice is prosperous," &c.

Potter gives a particular account of the mode of divination by inspecting the entrails. If they were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour, and proportion, all was well ; if anything was out of order, or wanting, evil was portended. The palpitation of the entrails was unfortunate : if the liver was bad they inspected no further. For other particulars, see Robinson or Potter. The Roman mode of divination by the entrails was the same as that of the Greeks.—*T.*

* The Persian bucklers were made of osier, and covered with skin.—See *Taylor on Demosthenes*, vol. iii., p. 620.

This passage has perplexed the commentators. Bellanger understands that the Persians had made a rampart of their bucklers, behind which they used their arrows. Larcher approves of this, but it seems attended with many difficulties. Did they approach within a given distance of the enemy, and then pile up their bucklers by way of intrenchment ? If so, in case of defeat, they became naked and defenceless ; for how in the tumult of action, and the terror of a victorious foe, could they undo their intrenchment, and each recover his buckler ? In Homer we find that Teucer shot his arrows under the protection of the shield of Ajax ; and though I am hardly warranted to make the assertion, it by no means seems improbable that with the archers a body of shield-bearers might be distributed, to enable them to take their aim with more steadiness and certainty.—*T.*

tans with prodigious effect. At this moment, Pausanias observing the entrails still unfavourable, looked earnestly towards the temple of Juno, at Plataea, imploring the interposition of the goddess, and entreating her to prevent their disgrace and defeat.

LXII. While he was in the act of supplicating the goddess the Tegeatæ advanced against the barbarians, at the same moment the sacrifices became favourable, and Pausanias, at the head of his Spartans, went up boldly to the enemy. The Persians, throwing aside their bows, prepared to receive them. The engagement commenced before the barricade : when this was thrown down, a conflict took place near the temple of Ceres, which was continued with unremitting obstinacy till the fortune of the day was decided. The barbarians, seizing their adversaries' lances, broke them in pieces, and discovered no inferiority either in strength or courage ; but their armour was inefficient, their attack without skill, and their inferiority, with respect to discipline, conspicuous. In whatever manner they rushed on the enemy, from one to ten at a time, they were cut in pieces by the Spartans.

LXIII. The Greeks were most severely pressed where Mardonius himself, on a white horse, at the head of a thousand chosen Persians, directed his attack. As long as he lived the Persians, both in their attack and defence, conducted themselves well, and slew great numbers of the Spartans ; but as soon as Mardonius was slain, and the band which fought near his person, and which was the flower of the army, was destroyed, all the rest turned their backs and fled. They were much oppressed and encumbered by their long dresses, besides which, they were lightly armed, to oppose men in full and complete armour.

LXIV. On this day, as the oracle had before predicted, the death of Leonidas was amply revenged on

Mardonius, and the most glorious victory* which has ever been recorded, was then obtained by Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, and grandson of Anaxandrides. The other ancestors, which he had in common with Leonidas, I have before mentioned. Mardonius was slain by Aimnestus, a Spartan of distinguished reputation, who long after this Persian war, with three hundred men, was killed in an engagement at Stenyclerus, in which he opposed the united force of the Messenians.

LXV. The Persians, routed by the Spartans at Plateæa, fled in the greatest confusion towards their camp, and to the wooden intrenchment which they had constructed in the Theban territories. It seems to me somewhat surprising, that although the battle was fought near the grove of Ceres, not a single Persian took refuge in the temple, or was slain near it; but the greater part of them perished beyond the limits of the sacred ground. If it may be allowed to form any conjecture on divine subjects, I should think that the goddess interfered to prevent their entrance, because on a former occasion they had burned her temple† at Eleusis. Such was the issue of the battle of Plateæa.

* It was principally, says the author of the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, to the victories which the Athenians obtained over the Persians that they owed the ruin of their ancient constitution. After the battle of Plateæa it was ordered that the citizens of the lower classes, who had been excluded by Solon the principal magistracies, should from that time have the privilege of obtaining them. The wise Aristides, who prevented this decree, afforded a calamitous example to those who succeeded him in command; they were first compelled to flatter the multitude, and finally to bow before it. Formerly they disdained to attend the general assemblies; but as soon as government had ordained that a gratification of three oboli should be given to whoever assisted at them, they rushed there in crowds, driving away the affluent by their presence and their furies, and insolently substituting their caprices for laws.—*T.*

† I fear the remark of Mr. Gibbon, that the style of Herodotus is half sceptical and half superstitious, will here be thought true.—*T.*

LXVI. Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who had from the first disapproved of the king's leaving Mardonius behind him, and who had warmly, though unsuccessfully, endeavoured to prevent a battle, determined on the following measures: He was at the head of no small body of troops; they amounted to forty thousand men: being much averse to the conduct of Mardonius, and foreseeing what the event of an engagement must be, he prepared and commanded his men to follow him wherever he should go, and to remit or increase their speed by his example. He then drew out his army, as if to attack the enemy; but he soon met the Persians flying from them: he then immediately and precipitately fled with all his troops in disorder, not directing his course to the intrenchment or to Thebes, but towards Phocis, intending to gain the Hellespont with all possible speed. In this manner did these troops conduct themselves.

LXVII. Of those Greeks who were in the royal army, all except the Bœotians, from a preconcerted design, behaved themselves ill. The Bœotians fought the Athenians with obstinate resolution: those Thebans who were attached to the Medes made very considerable exertions, fighting with such courage, that three hundred of their first and boldest citizens fell by the swords of the Athenians. They fled at length, and pursued their way to Thebes, avoiding the route which the Persians had taken with the immense multitude of confederates, who, so far from making any exertions, had never struck a blow.

LXVII. To me it appears that the conduct of the barbarians in general, was decided by that of the Persians. Before they had at all engaged with the enemy they took themselves to flight, seeing the Persians do so. The whole army, however, fled in confusion, except the horse, and those of the Bœotians in particular, who were of essential service in covering the retreat, being constantly at hand to defend

their flying friends from the Greeks, who continued the pursuit with great slaughter.

LXIX. In the midst of all this tumult, intelligence was conveyed to those Greeks posted near the temple of Juno, and remote from the battle, that the event was decided, and Pausanias victorious. The Corinthians instantly, without any regularity, hurried over the hills which lay at the foot of the mountain to arrive at the temple of Ceres. The Megareans and Phliasians, with the same intentions, posted over the plain, the more direct and obvious road. As they approached the enemy they were observed by the Theban horse, commanded by Asopodorus, son of Timander, who, taking advantage of their want of order, rushed on them and slew six hundred, driving the rest towards Mount Cithæron. Thus did these perish ingloriously.

LXX. The Persians, and a promiscuous multitude along with them, as soon as they arrived at the intrenchment, endeavoured to climb the turrets before the Lacedæmonians should come up with them. Having effected this, they endeavoured to defend themselves as well as they could. The Lacedæmonians soon arrived, and a severe engagement commenced at the intrenchment. Before the Athenians came up, the Persians not only defended themselves well, but had the advantage, as the Lacedæmonians were ignorant of the proper method of attack; but as soon as the Athenians advanced to their support the battle was renewed with greater fierceness, and long continued. The valour and firmness of the Athenians finally prevailed. Having made a breach, they rushed into the camp: the Tegeatæ were the first Greeks that entered, and were they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from thence, among other things, the manger* from

* One of the later Roman emperors, I believe it was Caracalla, fed a favourite horse from a manger of solid gold.—*T.*

which his horses were fed, made entirely of brass, and very curious. This was afterward deposited by the Tegeatæ in the temple of the Alean Minerva: the rest of the booty was carried to the spot where the common plunder was collected. As soon as their intrenchment was thrown down, the barbarians dispersed themselves different ways, without exhibiting any proof of their former bravery: they were indeed in a state of stupefaction and terror, from seeing their immense multitude overpowered in so short a period. So great was the slaughter made by the Greeks, that of this army, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, not three thousand escaped, if we except the forty thousand who fled with Artabazus. The Lacedæmonians of Sparta lost ninety-one men; the Tegeatæ sixteen; the Athenians fifty-two.*

LXXI. Of those who most distinguished themselves on the part of the barbarians, are to be reckoned the Persian infantry, the Sacian cavalry, and lastly, Mardonius himself. Of the Greeks, the Tegeatæ and Athenians were eminently conspicuous; they were nevertheless inferior to the Lacedæmonians. The proof of this with me is, that though the former conquered those to whom they were opposed, the latter vanquished the pride and strength of the barbarian army. The most daring of the Spartans, in my opinion, was Aristodemus; the same who alone returning from Thermopylæ fell into disgrace and infamy; next to him, Posidonius, Phylocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan behaved best. Nevertheless, when it was disputed in conversation what individual had on that day most distinguished him-

* The Greeks, according to Plutarch, lost in all one thousand three hundred and sixty men: all of those who were slain of the Athenians were of one particular tribe. Plutarch is much incensed at Herodotus for his account of this battle; but the authority of our historian seems entitled to most credit.
—T.

self, the Spartans who were present said, that Aristodemus, being anxious to die conspicuously, as an expiation of his former crime, in an emotion of fury, had broke from his rank, and performed extraordinary exploits; but that Posidonius had no desire to lose his life, and therefore his behaviour was the more glorious: but this remark might have proceeded from envy. All those of whom I have spoken, as slain on this day, were highly honoured, except Aristodemus. To him, for the reason above mentioned, no respect was paid, as having voluntarily sought death.

LXXII. The above were those who gained the greatest reputation in the battle of Plataea. Callicrates, the handsomest man, not only of all the Lacedæmonians, but of all the Greeks, was not slain in actual engagement; while Pausanias was sacrificing, he was sitting in his rank, and received a wound in his side from an arrow. In the heat of the conflict, he was carried off, lamenting to Aimnestus, a man of Plataea, not that he perished for his country, but that he died without any personal exertions, without performing any deed of valour worthy of himself or his desire of renown.

LXXIII. The most eminent on this occasion of the Athenians, is said to have been Sophanes, the son of Eutychides, of the Decelean tribe. The Deceleans, at some former period, according to the Athenians, did what proved for ever of the greatest advantage to them. The Tyndaridæ had, with a numerous force, invaded Attica to recover Helen,*

* Helen, as everybody knows, was the daughter of Tyndarus, and the sister of Castor and Pollux: she was carried off by Theseus, when, according to Hellanicus, he was fifty years old. She was not then marriageable, probably not more than ten. This event consequently happened many years before Menelaus married her, and Paris carried her away. The Greeks were ten years assembling forces for the siege, which continued ten years. "This is the twentieth year of my arrival at Troy," says Helen,

and had driven away all the natives, without being able to discover where Helen was. On this emergency, the Deceleans are reported, and, as some say, Deceleus himself, to have discovered what was required, and to have conducted the invaders to Aphidnæ, which Titacus, a native of the place, delivered into his hands. To this measure they were induced, partly from a sense of the infamy which was occasioned by the crime of Theseus, and partly from the fear that the whole territories of Attica would be ravaged. On account of this action, an immunity from taxes in Sparta, which has continued to the present period, was granted to the Deceleans, as well as a place of honour in the public assemblies. In the war which many years afterward* took place between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, the Lacedæmonians laying waste the rest of Attica, spared Decelea alone.

LXXIV. Of this people was Sophanes, who so greatly distinguished himself among the Athenians, though the particulars of his conduct are differently represented. He is reported by some to have carried before him an anchor of iron, secured by a leathern thong to his breastplate: this, when the enemy approached, he threw on the ground, lest their rushing on him might remove him from his rank: when the enemy fled he took up his anchor, and pursued them. Another report says that he did not carry a real anchor, but merely the impression of one on his shield, which he continually moved about.

LXXV. Another noble action is told of this Sophanes: when the Athenians besieged Ægina he chal-

in the Iliad, at which time she must have been in her thirty-sixth year.—*Larcher*.

* The battle of Platæa took place in the second year of the seventy-fifth olympiad; the Peloponnesian war commenced in the spring of the first year of the eighty-seventh olympiad, that is, near forty-eight years after the battle of Platæa.—*Larcher*.

lenged and killed in single combat Eurybates* of Argos, who had conquered in the Pentathlon. Some time after this battle of Platæa, while exerting himself with great bravery as leader of the Athenians, in conjunction with Leagrus, the son of Glaucon, he lost his life : he was slain by the Edonians at Datus,† in a contest about some gold mines.

LXXVI. After this victory of the Greeks over the Barbarians at Platæa, a woman hearing of the event, came to the Greeks as a suppliant. She was the concubine of Pharandates, a Persian, the son of Teaspes : both she and her female attendants were superbly dressed in habits of the richest embroidery. Descending from her carriage, she approached the Lacedæmonians, who were still engaged in slaughter, and addressing herself to Pausanias, whom she saw commanded, and whose name and country she had before known : " Prince of Sparta," said she, embracing his knees,‡ " be my deliverer from servitude :

* He was conqueror in the Nemean games, and Pausanias relates the particular manner in which he was slain. See our author, book vi., chap. xcii. This Eurybates must not be confounded with the Eurybates who betrayed Cræsus, and whose name became proverbial for a traitor. The latter was of Ephesus, the former of Argos.—*Larcher*.

† On this place Meursius, in his *Lectiones Atticæ*, employs a whole chapter, correcting errors concerning it committed by Stephanus and Hesychius. Stephanus the geographer places it in Thrace, Ptolemy in Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace: Eustathius on Dionysius agrees with Ptolemy, placing Datus on the banks of the Strymon, a river of Macedonia.—*T*.

‡ This was a common, and indeed very natural act of extreme humility, and earnest supplications: innumerable instances occur of its being practised in ancient writers, and in Homer particularly. Priam, when he goes to beg of Achilles the body of Hector, throws himself at his feet, and embraces his knees :—

" Unseen by these the king his entry made,
And prostrate now before Achilles laid;
Sudden (a venerable sight) appears,
Embraced his knees, and bathed his hands in tears;
Those direful hands his kisses press'd, imbrued
E'en with the best, the dearest of his blood,"—*T*.

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you have already merited my gratitude by exterminating those who revered neither gods nor demons. I am a Coan by birth, daughter of Hegetorides, grand-daughter of Antagoras: the Persian carried me off violently from Cos, and detained me with him." "Be under no alarm," answered Pausanias, "both because you are a suppliant,* and because, if what you say be true, you are the daughter of Hegetoridas of Cos, to whom, of all his countrymen, I am most bound by the ties of hospitality." He then recommended her to the care of the ephori, who were present, and finally, at her request, removed her to Ægina.

LXXVII. After the departure of this woman, and when the battle was finally decided, the Mantineans arrived. Their not coming in time for the engagement they esteemed a serious calamity, and an incident for which they ought to undergo a voluntary punishment. Having learned that the Medes, under Artabazus, had taken themselves to flight, they determined to pursue them as far as Thessaly, from which they were with some difficulty dissuaded by the Lacedæmonians: afterward, on their return home, they sent their leaders into banishment. The Eleans arrived after the Mantineans, and expressing the same regret, they also returned, and banished their commanders. Such was the conduct of these two people.

LXXVIII. Among the troops of the Æginetæ, assembled at Plateæa, was Lampon,† one of the principal citizens, and son of Pytheas. This man went to

* See the *Odyssey*, Pope's translation:—

"To raise a lowly suppliant from the ground
Befits a monarch."

† This Lampon was of a family illustrious no less for the prizes they obtained at the Isthmean and Nemean games, than for their noble origin. He was the son of Pytheas, to whom the fifth Nemean ode of Pindar was addressed; which see.

Pausanias, giving him the following most impious counsel: "Son of Cleombrotus, what you have done is beyond comparison splendid, and deserving admiration. The deity, in making you the instrument of Greece's freedom, has placed you far above all your predecessors in glory: in concluding this business, so conduct yourself that your reputation may be still increased, and that no barbarian may ever again attempt to perpetrate atrocious actions against Greece. When Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head, and suspended his body from a cross. Do the same with respect to Mardonius, and you will deserve the applause of Sparta and Greece, and avenge the cause of your uncle Leonidas." Thus spake Lampon, thinking he should please Pausanias.

LXXIX. "Friend of Ægina," replied Pausanias, "I thank you for your good intentions, and commend your foresight; but what you say violates every principle of equity.* After elevating me, my country, and this recent victory, to the summit of fame, you again depress us to infamy, in recommending me to inflict vengeance on the dead.† You say, in-

* Pausanias altered materially afterward. He aspired to the supreme power, became magnificent and luxurious, fierce and vindictive. See Thucydides.—*Larcher*.

† This sentiment is frequently expressed by ancient and modern authors. Homer says—

"T' insult the dead is cruel and unjust."

Dr. Young, in his play of the *Revenge*, makes Zanga say—

"I war not with the dead."

And in the *Complaint*, night iii., 190—

"What guilt
Can equal violations of the dead?
The dead how sacred: sacred is the dust
Of this heav'n-labour'd form."

But perhaps the most forcible and elegant sentiments on this

deed, that by such an action I shall exalt my character; but I think it is more consistent with the conduct of barbarians than of Greeks, as it is one of those things for which we reproach them. I must, therefore, dissent from the Æginetæ, and all those who approve their sentiments. For me, it is sufficient to merit the esteem of Sparta by attending to the rules of honour, both in words and actions. Leonidas, whom you wish me to avenge, has, I think, received the amplest vengeance. The deaths of this immense multitude must have sufficiently atoned for him, and for those who fell with him at Thermopylæ. I would advise you in future, having these sentiments, to avoid my presence; and I would have you think it a favour that I do not punish you."

LXXX. Pausanias afterward proclaimed by a herald that no person should touch any of the booty; and he ordered the helots to collect the money into one place. They, as they dispersed* themselves over the camp, found tents decorated with gold and silver, couches of the same, goblets, cups, and drinking vessels of gold, besides sacks of gold, and silver caldrons placed on carriages. The dead bodies they stripped of bracelets, chains, and cimeters of gold: to their habits of various colours they paid no attention. Many things of value the helots secreted, and sold them to the Æginetæ; others, unable to conceal, they were obliged to produce. The Æginetæ from this became exceedingly rich; for they purchased gold of the helots at the price of brass.

LXXXI. From the wealth thus collected, a tenth part was selected for sacred purposes. To the deity of Delphi was presented a golden tripod, resting on a three-headed snake of brass: it was placed near the

subject may be found in the *Antigone* of Sophocles; where Antigone, in defiance of the edicts of Creon, at the peril of her own life, buries the dead body of her brother Polynices.

* This circumstance and behaviour of the helots necessarily remind us of the four leprous men, 2 Kings, vii., 8.

altar. To the Olympian god they erected a Jupiter, ten cubits high: to the god of the isthmus, the figure of Neptune in brass, seven cubits high. When this was done the remainder of the plunder was divided among the army, according to their merits: it consisted of Persian concubines, gold, silver, beasts of burden, with various riches. What choice things were given to those who most distinguished themselves at Plataea* has never been mentioned, though certain presents I believe were made them. It is certain that to Pausanias was given a tenth part of the whole, consisting, among other things, of women, horses, talents, and camels.

LXXXII. It is further recorded that when Xerxes fled from Greece he left all his equipage to Mardonius. Pausanias seeing this composed of gold, silver, and cloth of the richest embroidery, gave orders for the cooks and domestics to prepare an entertainment for him, as for Mardonius. His commands were executed, and he beheld couches of gold and silver, tables of the same, and everything that was splendid and magnificent. Astonished at the spectacle, he again with a smile directed his servants to prepare a Lacedæmonian repast. When this was ready, the contrast was so striking, that he laughing sent for the Grecian leaders: when they were assembled he showed them the two entertainments. "Men of Greece," said he, "I have called you together to bear testimony to the King of Persia's folly, who forsook all this luxury to plunder us who live in

* That sagacious and entertaining traveller, Mr. Coxe, relates in his vol. i. of Switzerland that the people of Glaris, to the amount only of three hundred and fifty, assisted by thirty Switzers, not only repulsed, but vanquished with a prodigious slaughter, an army of fifteen thousand Austrians. "This surprising victory," says he, "gained by a handful of men against an enemy so superior in number, (instances of which are by no means rare in the history of Switzerland,) render the wonderful combats of Marathon and Plataea perfectly credible."

—T.

so much poverty.”* These were the words which Pausanias is said to have used to the Grecian leaders.

LXXXIII. In succeeding times, many of the Plataeans found on the field of battle chests of gold, silver, and other riches. This thing also happened: When the flesh had fallen from the bones of the dead bodies, the Plataeans, in removing them to some other spot, discovered a scull of one entire bone, without any suture.† Two jaw bones also were found with their teeth, which though divided were of one entire bone,‡ the grinders as well as the rest. The bones of a man also were seen five cubits high.

LXXXIV. The body of Mardonius was removed the day after the battle: but it is not known by whom. I have heard the interment of Mardonius ascribed to various people of different nations: and I know that many persons received on this account liberal presents from Artontas, his son; but who it actually was that privately removed and buried the body of Mardonius I have never been able to ascertain. It has sometimes been imputed to Dionysiphanes, a native of Ephesus.

LXXXV. The Greeks, after the division of the plunder at Plataea, proceeded to inter their dead, each nation by themselves. The Lacedæmonians sunk three trenches: in one they deposited the

* If this remark were made with truth with respect to the Greeks, how much more pertinent does it appear, comparing the Scythians with the Persians, against whom Darius unsuccessfully led a numerous army.

† Father Hardouin, in a note on a passage of Pliny, observes that Albert, marquis of Brandebourg, surnamed the German Achilles, had a scull without a suture.—*Larcher*.

Natural historians have remarked this peculiarity in the sculls of many persons. It has also been affirmed of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes.—*T*.

‡ Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had his teeth of one entire bone, though distinct from each other. It has been related also of many.—*Larcher*.

bodies of their priests, among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates; in the second were interred the other Spartans; in the third the helots. The Tegeatæ were buried by themselves, but with no distinction: the Athenians in like manner, and also the Megareans and Phliasians who were slain by the cavalry. Mounds of earth were raised over the bodies of all these people. With respect to the others shown at Plataea, I am told they were raised by those who, being ashamed of their absence from the battle, wished to secure the esteem of posterity. There is here a monument said to be that of the Æginetæ; but this, I have been informed, was raised ten years after the battle by Cleades of Plataea, the son of Autodicus, at the particular request of the Æginetæ, to whom he was bound by the ties of hospitality.

LXXXVI. Having buried their dead on the plain of Plataea, the Greeks, after serious deliberation, resolved to attack Thebes, and demand the persons of those who had taken part with the Medes. Of these, the most distinguished were Timegenides and Attaginus, the leaders of the faction. They determined, unless these were given up, not to leave Thebes without utterly destroying it. On the eleventh day after the battle they besieged the Thebans, demanding the men whom we have named. They refused to surrender them: in consequence of which their lands were laid waste, and their walls attacked.

LXXXVII. This violence being continued, Timegenides, on the twentieth day, thus addressed the Thebans: "Men of Thebes,* since the Greeks are

* The gallant behaviour of Timegenides on this occasion will remind the English reader of the siege of Calais by Edward the Third, when Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, behaved precisely in a similar manner. He declared himself willing to suffer death for the safety of his friends and fellow-citizens. The entreaties of Philippa, Henry's queen, induced the English monarch to behave with more mag-

resolved not to retire from Thebes till they shall either have destroyed it, or you shall deliver us into their power, let not Bœotia on our account be further distressed. If their demand of our persons be merely a pretence to obtain money, let us satisfy them from the wealth of the public ; as not we alone, but all of us have been equally and openly active on the part of the Medes : if their real object in besieging Thebes is to obtain our persons, we are ready to go ourselves and confer with them." The Thebans approving his advice, sent immediately a herald to Pausanias, saying they were ready to deliver up the men.

LXXXVIII. As soon as this measure was determined Attaginus fled ; but his children were delivered to Pausanias, who immediately dismissed them, urging that infants could not possibly have any part in the faction of the Medes. The other Thebans who were given up imagined they should have the liberty of pleading for themselves, and by the means of money hoped to escape. Pausanias, expecting such a thing might happen, as soon as he got them in his power, dismissed all the forces of the allies ; then removing the Thebans to Corinth, he there put them to death.

LXXXIX. These things were done at Plataea and Thebes. Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, fled from Plataea to the Thessalians. They received him with great hospitality, and, entirely ignorant of what had happened, inquired after the remainder of the army. The Persian was fearful that if he disclosed the whole truth, he might draw on him the attack of all who knew it, and consequently involve himself and army in the extremest danger. This reflection had before prevented his communication of the matter to

nanimity than we find Pausanias did. The citizens of Calais saved their lives, received magnificent presents, and were dismissed in safety. See the story admirably told by Hume, vol. ii., p. 442.

the Phoceans; and on the present occasion he thus addressed the Thessalians: "I am hastening, as you perceive, with great expedition to Thrace, being despatched thither from our camp with this detachment on some important business. Mardonius with his troops follows me at no great distance: show him the rites of hospitality and every suitable attention. You will finally have no occasion to repent of your kindness." He then proceeded through Thessaly and Macedonia, immediately to Thrace, with evident marks of being in haste. Directing his march through the midst of the country, he arrived at Byzantium, with the loss of great numbers of his men, who were either cut in pieces by the Thracians, or quite worn out by fatigue and hunger. From Byzantium he passed over his army in transports, and thus effected his return to Asia.

XC. On the very day of the battle of Plataea a victory was gained at Mycale in Ionia. While the Grecian fleet was yet at Delos, under the command of Leutychides the Lacedæmonian, ambassadors came to them from Samos. These were Lampon, the son of Thrasyales, Athenagoras, son of Arcestratidas, and Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras, who were employed on this occasion without the knowledge of the Persians or of Theomestor, son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made prince of Samos. On their arrival they sought the Grecian leaders, whom Hegesistratus addressed with various arguments. He urged that as soon as they should show themselves all the Ionians would shake off their dependance and revolt from the Persians; he told them that they might wait in vain for the prospect of a richer booty. He implored also their common deities, that, being Greeks, they would deliver those who were Greeks also from servitude, and avenge them on the barbarian. He concluded by saying that this might be easily accomplished, as the ships of the enemy were slow sailers, and by no

means equal to those of the Greeks. He added that if they had any suspicions of treachery, they were ready to go on board their vessels, and there remain as hostages.

XCI. While the Samian continued his importunities, Leutychides, either for the sake of some omen, or by accident, Providence so ordering it, asked him his name. He replied, "Hegesistratus." If he had intended saying any more, Leutychides prevented him, by exclaiming, "My Samian friend, I accept the omen of your name ; you may therefore return, after promising us on behalf of yourself and your companions that the Samians will prove themselves zealous allies."

XCII. Saying this, he proceeded to execute what was proposed. The Samians, with an oath, engaged to become the confederates of the Greeks. Leutychides then dismissed them all except Hegesistratus, who, on account of his name,* he chose to take along with him. The Greeks, after remaining that day on their station, on the next sacrificed with favourable omens ; Deiphonus, son of Evenius of Apollonia, in the Ionian gulf, being their minister.

XCIII. To this Evenius the following thing happened. There are in Apollonia sheep sacred to the sun, which by day are fed on the banks of a river that, flowing from Mount Lacmon, passes through Apollonia, and empties itself into the sea, near the harbour of Oricum. By night they are kept by men, one of whom is every year chosen from the noblest and wealthiest of his fellow-citizens. To these

* The ancients paid great attention, Greeks as well as Romans, to the presages to be drawn from names. When Augustus was proceeding to the battle of Actium, he met a man driving an ass ; the man's name was Eutychus, which means fortunate ; the name of the ass was Nikon, which signifies victory. He accepted this as a favourable omen, and after his conquest of Antony he constructed a temple, in which he placed figures of the ass and its master. Many similar examples are to be found.—*T.*

sheep, on account of some oracle, the people of Apollonia pay the greatest reverence, and they are every night secured in a cave at some distance from the city. Evenius being once elected to this office, was so remiss as to fall asleep, when some wolves entered, and destroyed nearly sixty of his sheep. On discovering the accident, he made no person acquainted with what had happened, intending to buy an equal number to substitute in their room. It could not, however, be concealed from the people of Apollonia, who, bringing Evenius to trial, condemned him to lose his eyes for sleeping on his duty. After they had inflicted this punishment on him, their cattle ceased to bring forth, and their lands to be fruitful. This had been before predicted by the oracles of Dodona and Delphi. The prophets, being interrogated concerning the occasion of the present calamity, replied, that it was because they had unjustly deprived of his sight Evenius, the keeper of the sacred sheep. They were the persons, they said, who had sent the wolves: nor would they cease their vengeance until Evenius should be satisfied in whatever manner he desired. They added that they themselves would afterward make him such a present as would induce most men to think him happy.

XCIV. This reply was made by the oracles to the people of Apollonia. They, concealing this, commissioned some of their citizens to compound the business. The method they took was this: They visited Evenius in his house, and seating themselves by him, talked of indifferent matters, till they at length began to pity his misfortune. When this was introduced, they asked him what compensation would satisfy him if the Apolloniatae would engage to make it. As he knew nothing of the oracle, he expressed his wish to have the lands of two citizens, whom he specified, which he believed to be the best in the country; to this he added the most splendid house in the city. If he had but these, he said he should

be perfectly content, and no longer feel any resentment. When Evenius had made this reply, his visitors interrupted him. "Accept," said they, "what you require, and what, in compliance with the oracle, your countrymen are disposed to give you as an atonement for depriving you of sight." Evenius, on hearing the matter explained, was greatly incensed at the deception. The farms which he had wished for were purchased of their owners and given him. He had afterward the power of divination, whence he became famous.

XCV. Deiphonus was the son of this Evenius, whom the Corinthians had brought with them as soothsayer to the army. I have been informed that Deiphonus performed this office in Greece, availing himself of the name of Evenius, whose son he really was not.

XCI. The Greeks, having sacrificed favourably, set sail from Delos towards Samos. On their arrival at Calami of Samos, they drew themselves up near the temple of Juno, and prepared for a naval engagement. When the Persians heard of their approach, they moved with the residue of their fleet towards the continent, having previously permitted the Phœnicians to retire. They had determined, after a consultation, not to risk an engagement, as they did not think themselves a match for their opponents. They therefore made towards the continent, that they might be covered by their land forces at Mycale, to whom Xerxes had intrusted the defence of Ionia. These, to the amount of sixty thousand, were under the command of Tigranes the Persian, one of the handsomest and tallest of his countrymen. To these troops the commanders of the fleet resolved to retire: it was also their intention to draw their vessels on shore, and to throw up an intrenchment round them, which might equally serve as a protection to their vessels and themselves.

XCVII. After the above resolution they proceeded

on their course, and were carried near the temple of the Eumenidæ at Mycale, contiguous to Gæson and Scolopeës. In this place is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, built by Philistus, son of Pasicles, who accompanied Neleus the son of Codrus when he founded Miletus. Here the Persians drew their ships to land, defending them with an intrenchment formed of stones, branches of fruit trees cut down on the spot, and pieces of timber closely fitted together. In this position they were ready to sustain a blockade, and with the hopes of victory, being prepared for either event.

XCVIII. When the Greeks received intelligence that the barbarians were retired to the continent, they considered them as escaped out of their hands. They were exceedingly exasperated, and in great perplexity whether they should return or proceed towards the Hellespont. Their ultimate determination was to follow the enemy towards the continent. Getting, therefore, all things ready for an engagement by sea, and providing themselves with scaling ladders, and such other things as were necessary, they sailed for Mycale. When they approached the enemy's station they perceived no one advancing to meet them; but beheld the ships drawn on shore, secured with an intrenchment, and a considerable body of infantry ranged along the coast. Leutychides on this advanced before all the rest in his ship, and coming as near the shore as he could, thus addressed the Ionians by a herald: "Men of Ionia, all you who hear me, listen to what I say, for the Persians will understand nothing of what I tell you. When the engagement shall commence, remember first of all our common liberties: in the next place take notice, our watchword is Hebe. Let those who hear me inform all who do not." The motive of this conduct was the same with that of Themistocles at Artemisium. These expressions, if not intelligible to the barbarians, might make the desired

impression on the Ionians; or if explained to the former, might render the fidelity of the latter suspected.

XCIX. When Leutychides had done this, the Greeks approached the shore, disembarked, and prepared for battle. The Persians observing this, and knowing the purport of the enemy's address to the Ionians, took their arms from the Samians, suspecting them of a secret attachment to the Greeks. The Samians had purchased the freedom of five hundred Athenians, and sent them back with provisions to their own country, who, having been left in Attica, had been taken prisoners by the Persians, and brought away in the barbarian fleet. The circumstance of their thus releasing five hundred of the enemies of Xerxes made them greatly suspected. To the Milesians, under pretence of their knowledge of the country, the Persians confided the guard of the paths to the heights of Mycale; their real motive was to remove them to a distance. By these steps the Persians endeavoured to guard against those Ionians who might wish, if they had the opportunity, to effect a revolt. They next heaped their bucklers on each other to make a temporary rampart.

C. The Greeks being drawn up, advanced to attack the barbarians: as they were proceeding, a herald's wand was discovered on the beach, and a rumour circulated through the ranks that the Greeks had obtained a victory over the forces of Mardonius in Bœotia. These things which happen* by Divine interposition are made known by various means. On the same day that their enemies were slaughtered at Plateæ, and were about to be defeated at

* It is unnecessary to remark that the superstition of the writer is in this passage conspicuous. Diodorus Siculus is most sagacious when he says that Leutychides, and those who were with him, knew nothing of the victory of Plateæ; but that they contrived this stratagem to animate their troops. Polyænus relates the same of his *Stratagemata*.—*Larcher*.

Mycale, the rumour of their former victory, being circulated to this distance, rendered the Greeks more bold, and animated them against every danger.

CI. It appears further worthy of observation, that both battles took place near the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres. The battle of Plataea, as I have before remarked, was in the vicinity of the temple of Ceres; the one at Mycale was in a similar situation. The report of the victory of the Greeks under Pausanias came at a very seasonable moment; the engagement at Plataea happening early in the morning, that at Mycale towards evening. It was soon afterward ascertained that these incidents occurred on the same day of the same month. Before the arrival of this rumour at Mycale the Greeks were in great consternation, not so much on their own account, as from the fear that Greece would not be able to withstand the exertions of Mardonius; but after they had heard this news they advanced to combat with greater eagerness and courage. The barbarians testified equal resolution, and both seemed to consider the islands and the Hellespont as the reward of victory.

CII. The Athenians, who, with those that accompanied them, constituted one half of the army, advanced by the coast, and along the plain; the Lacedæmonians and their auxiliaries by the more woody and mountainous places. While the Lacedæmonians were making a circuit, the Athenians in the other wing were already engaged. The Persians, as long as their intrenchment remained uninjured, defended themselves well, and without any inferiority; but when the Athenians, with those who supported them, increased their exertions, mutually exhorting one another, that they and not the Lacedæmonians might have the glory of the day, the face of things was changed; the rampart was thrown down, and a sensible advantage gained over the Persians. They sustained the shock for a considerable time; but finally

gave way and retreated behind their intrenchments. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, rushed in with them; for this part of the army was composed of these different nations. When the wall was carried, the barbarians gave no testimony of their former prowess, but, except the Persians, indiscriminately fled. These last, though few in number, vigorously resisted the Greeks, who poured in on them in crowds. Artayntes and Ithamitres, the commanders of the fleet, saved themselves by flight; but Mardontes, and Tigranes, the general of the land forces, were slain.

CIII. While the Persians still refused to give ground, the Lacedæmonians and their party arrived, and put all who survived to the sword. On this occasion many of the Greeks were slain; and among a number of the Sicyonians, Perilaus their leader. The Samians, who were in the Persian army, and from whom their weapons had been taken, no sooner saw victory incline to the side of the Greeks than they assisted them with all their power. The other Ionians, seeing this, revolted also, and turned their arms against the barbarians.

CIV. The Milesians had been ordered, the better to provide for the safety of the Persians, to guard the paths to the heights; so that, in case of accident, the barbarians, under their guidance, might take refuge on the summits of Mycale; with this view, as well as to remove them to a distance, and thus guard against their perfidy, the Milesians had been so disposed; but they acted in direct contradiction to their orders. Those who fled they introduced directly into the midst of their enemies; and finally were active beyond all the rest in putting them to the sword. In this manner did Ionia a second time revolt from the Persian power.

CV. In this battle the Athenians most distinguished themselves; and of them Hermolycus, the son of Euthynus, a man famous in the Pancratium. This

man afterward was slain in a battle at Cyrnus of Carystus, in the war between the Athenians and Carystians, and was buried at Geræstum. Next to the Athenians, they who obtained the greatest reputation were the Corinthians, Træzenians, and Sicyonians.

CVI. The greater number of the barbarians being slain, either in the battle or in the pursuit, the Greeks burned their ships, and totally destroyed their wall: the plunder they collected on the shore, among which was a considerable quantity of money. Having done this, they sailed from the coast. When they came to Samos they deliberated on the propriety of removing the Ionians* to some other place, wishing to place them in some part of Greece where their authority was secure; but they determined to abandon Ionia to the barbarians. They were well aware both of the impossibility of defending the Ionians on every emergency, and of the danger which these would incur from the Persians if they did not. The Peloponnesian magistrates were of opinion that those nations who had embraced the cause of the Medes should be expelled, and their lands given to the Ionians. The Athenians would not consent that the Ionians should be transported from their country, nor would they allow the Peloponnesians to decide on the destruction of Athenian colonies. Seeing them tenacious of this opinion, the Peloponnesians no longer opposed them. Afterward the people of Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and the other islands who had assisted with their arms in the present ex-

* Twice, says the Abbé Bartelemy, in his *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, might this people have withdrawn themselves from the dominion of Persia; once by following the counsel of Bias, the other in complying with the will of the Lacedæmonians, who after the Persian war offered to transport them into Greece. They constantly refused to forsake their residence; and if it be permitted to judge from their populousness and wealth, independence was not essential to their happiness.—*T.*

igence, were received into the general confederacy, having by an oath promised constant and inviolable fidelity. This ceremony performed, they sailed towards the Hellespont, meaning to destroy the bridge, which they expected to find in its original state.

CVII. The barbarians who saved themselves by flight came to the heights of Mycale, and thence escaped in no great numbers to Sardis. During the retreat, Masistes, son of Darius, who had been present at the late unfortunate engagement, severely reproached Artayntes, the commander-in-chief: among other things, he said, that in the execution of his duty he had behaved more like a woman* than a man, and had materially injured the interests of his master. To say that a man is more dastardly than a woman, is with the Persians the most infamous of all reproaches. Artayntes, after bearing the insult for some time, became at length so exasperated, that he drew his cimeter, intending to kill Masistes. He was prevented by Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, a native of Halicarnassus, who, happening to be behind Artayntes, seized him by the middle, and threw him to the ground: at the same time the guards of Masistes came up. Xenagoras by this action not only obtained the favour of Masistes, but so much obliged Xerxes, by thus preserving his brother, that he was honoured with the government of all Cilicia. Nothing further of consequence occurred in their way to Sardis, where they found the king; who, after his retreat from Athens, and his ill success at sea, had there resided.

CVIII. Xerxes, during his residence at Sardis, had

* This reproach seems anciently to have been considered as the most contemptuous that could be imagined. Xerxes with this inveighed against his troops at Salamis. See also the speech of Thersites in the second book of the *Iliad* :—

“ Oh women of Achaia, men no more,
Hence let us fly, and let him waste his store
In loves and pleasures on the Phrygian shore.”—*T.*

attached himself to the wife of Masistes, who happened to be there at the same time. He was unable to obtain his wishes by presents, and out of respect to his brother he forbore to use violence. The woman, convinced that he would not force her, was restrained by the same consideration. Xerxes, perceiving his other efforts ineffectual, resolved to marry his own son Darius to the daughter of this woman by Masistes, thinking by these means to obtain the more easy accomplishment of his wishes. The marriage being solemnized with the accustomed ceremonies, he departed for Susa. On his arrival here, his son's wife was received into his palace: the wife of Masistes no longer engaged his attention; but changing the object of his passion, he fell in love with the wife of his son, the daughter of his brother. Her name was Artaynta.

CIX. This intrigue was afterward discovered in the following manner: Amestris,* the wife of Xerxes, presented her husband with a large embroidered and beautiful vest, which she herself had made: Xerxes was much delighted with it; and putting it on, went to visit Artaynta: in an emotion of love, he desired her to ask, as a compensation for her favours, whatever she wished, promising faithfully to gratify her. To this, impelled by the evil destiny of her whole family, she replied, "And will you really, sir, grant me what I shall ask?" Xerxes, never supposing she

* Many learned men, and Scaliger among others, pretend that this princess is the same with Queen Esther. A vain similitude of name, the cruelty of Amestris, of which Herodotus gives various examples, the barbarity with which Esther treated the ten children of Haman, and the enemies of the Jews have given rise to this supposition; but Esther was of a Jewish, Amestris of a Persian family. The father of this last was a satrap, named Onophas, according to Ctesias, and Otanes, according to Herodotus. If any stress were to be laid on a mere name, we might as well affirm that Esther was the same as Atossa, for she was also called Haadassa; but in my opinion, we ought not to conclude that Darius was the same with Ahasuerus.—*Larcher.*

would require what she did, promised with an oath that he would. The woman confidently demanded his robe. Xerxes at first refused her; fearing that Amestris would thus be convinced of what she had long suspected. Instead of what she solicited, he promised her cities, a prodigious quantity of gold, and the sole command of a large body of troops; which last is among the Persians esteemed a most distinguished honour. Unable to change her purpose, he gave her the robe; delighted with which, she wore it with exultation.

CX. Amestris soon heard of her having it; and thus learning what had happened, was exasperated, not against the young woman herself, but against her mother; whom alone she considered as criminal, and the cause of the mischief: she accordingly determined on her destruction. Waiting, therefore, for the solemnity of the royal festival, which is held once in every year, on the birthday of the king, she took this opportunity of requesting Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes. This festival is called in the Persian tongue Tycta, in the Greek, Teleion, or Perfect, on which the king alone decorates his head, and makes presents to the Persians. Xerxes, however, thought the giving away the person of his his brother's wife both cruel and detestable. He was satisfied that she was innocent of the crime imputed to her, and he could not be ignorant with what motive Amestris had made her request.

CXI. Conquered at length by her importunity, as well as by the law of custom, which compelled the king on every occasion of this festival to give what was required of him, he granted what she asked, though with extreme reluctance: giving, therefore, the woman to his wife, he told her to use her as she might think proper; but immediately sent for his brother, whom he thus addressed: "Masistes, you are a son of Darius, and my brother; and besides this you enjoy a fair reputation: do not any more

connect yourself with your present wife: I will give you my daughter in her place. It is my pleasure that you accept of her, and repudiate the other." "Sir," replied Masistes, in great astonishment, "what am I to understand from this discourse? Would you have me reject a woman agreeable to me in all respects, by whom I have had three sons as well as daughters; one of whom you have married to your own son: and doing this, afterward marry your daughter? Indeed, oh king! though I esteem your offer as the highest honour, I cannot accept it. Do not compel me to this measure, for you can have no motive for doing so: you may find a husband for your daughter no less suitable than myself: suffer me, therefore, to live with my wife as usual." To this, Xerxes, in great anger, made answer: "You shall neither, Masistes, marry my daughter nor continue to enjoy your present wife, that you may learn in future to accept what I propose." Masistes on this retired, saying only, "You have not, oh king! taken away my life."

CXII. While Xerxes was engaged in this conference with his brother, Amestris, sending for the royal guards, mutilated the wife of Masistes, cutting off her breasts, and throwing them to the dogs.* She afterward cut off her nose, her ears, her lips, and her tongue, and in this condition sent her home.

CXIII. Masistes, entirely ignorant of what had happened, yet fearful of some impending calamity, returned hastily to his house. When he saw the situation of his wife, he immediately, after consult-

* See some instances of extraordinary female cruelty recorded by Stephens, in his *Apology for Herodotus*, one of which is so horrible, as almost to exceed the imagination. "It is impossible," says Dr. Prideaux, "that a woman of so vile and abominable a character as this Amestris was, could ever have been that queen of Persia, who by the name of Esther is so renowned in Holy Writ, and is there recorded as the instrument by which God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them."—*T*.

ing with his children, fled with some adherents to Bactra, with the intention of exciting that province to revolt, and of doing the king essential injury. If he had once arrived in Bactra among the Sacæ, this I believe would have been accomplished; he was the governor of Bactra, and exceedingly beloved in his province. But Xerxes, having intelligence of his designs, sent a body of forces against him; who, intercepting him in his progress, put him, his children, and his followers, to death. So much for the amour of Xerxes, and the death of Masistes.

CXIV. The Greeks, sailing from Mycale towards the Hellespont, were obliged by contrary winds to put in at Lectum: thence they proceeded to Abydos. Here they found the bridge, which they imagined was entire, and which was the principal object of their voyage, effectually broken down. They on this held a consultation: Leutychides and the Lacedæmonians with him were for returning to Greece; the Athenians, with their leader Xanthippus, advised them to continue where they were, and make an attempt on the Chersonesus. The Peloponnesians returned; but the Athenians, passing from Abydos to the Chersonesus, laid siege to Sestos.

CXV. To this place, as by far the strongest in all that district, great numbers had retired from the neighbouring towns, as soon as it was known that the Greeks were in the Hellespont: among others was Œobazus of Cardia, a Persian who had previously collected here what remained of the bridge. The town itself was possessed by the native Æolians; but they had with them a great number of Persians and other allies.

CXVI. The governor of this place under Xerxes was Artayctes, a Persian of a cruel and profligate character. He had circumvented Xerxes when on his way to Athens, and had fraudulently taken from Eleæos the wealth of Protesilaus, the son of Iphiclus. In Eleæos of the Chersonesus was a tomb of Pro-

tesilaus, in the centre of a shrine which had been erected to his honour. Here were considerable riches ; a number of gold and silver vessels ; besides brass, vests, and many votive offerings. Of all these Artayctes possessed himself, having first insidiously obtained the king's sanction. " Sir," said he, " there is in this country the house of a Greek, who, entering your dominions with an armed force, met with the death he merited. Give it to me, as an example to others not to commit hostilities in your empire." The king, having no suspicion of his object, was without difficulty persuaded to grant him the house. Artayctes asserted that Protesilaus had committed hostilities within the king's dominions, because the Persians consider all Asia as their own, and the property of the reigning monarch. Having by the king been rendered master of all this wealth, he removed it to Sestos : the ground which it had before occupied at Eleæos he ploughed and planted : and as often as he went there afterward he was attended by his wives in the sanctuary. At this time he was closely besieged by the Greeks, unprepared for defence, and not expecting these enemies, who came on him by surprise.

CXVII. While they were prosecuting the siege the autumn arrived. The Athenians, unable to make themselves masters of the place, and uneasy at being engaged in an expedition so far from their country, entreated their leaders to conduct them home. They, in return, refused to do this, till they should either succeed in their enterprise or be recalled by the people of Athens : so intent were they on the business before them.

CXVIII. The besieged, who were with Artayctes, were reduced to such extremity of wretchedness that they were obliged to boil for food the cords of which their beds were composed. When these also were consumed, Artayctes and Œobazus, with some other Persians, fled, under cover of the night ; escaping by

an avenue behind the town which happened not to be blockaded by the enemy. When the morning came, the people of the Chersonesus made signals to the Athenians from the turrets, and opened to them the gates. The greater part commenced a pursuit of the Persians; the remainder took possession of the town.

CXIX. Œobazus fled into Thrace; but he was here seized by the Apsinthians, and sacrificed, according to their rites, to their god Pleistorus:* his followers were put to death in some other manner. Artayctes and his adherents, who fled the last, were overtaken near the waters of Ægos; where, after a vigorous defence, part were slain and part taken prisoners. The Greeks put them all in chains, Artayctes and his son with the rest, and carried them to Sestos.

CXX. It is reported by the people of the Chersonesus that the following prodigy happened to one of those whose business was to guard the prisoners. This man was broiling some salt fish: having put them on the fire, they moved and skipped about like fish lately taken: the bystanders expressing their astonishment at this, Artayctes, who also beheld the prodigy, sent for the man to whom it had happened, and spoke to him as follows: "My Athenian friend, be not alarmed at this prodigy; it has no reference

* This deity, barbarous as the people by whom he was worshipped, is totally unknown. The sacrifices offered him induce me to conjecture that it was the god of war, whom the Scythians represented under the form of a sword. These people, over a large vessel, cut the throat of every hundredth prisoner, whetting the sword with their blood. The same custom prevailed among the Huns.—See *Ammianus Marcellinus*. The Cilicians paid the god of war a worship savage like this; they suspended the victim, whether a man or an animal, from a tree, and going to a small distance, killed it with their spears.—*Larcher*.

Cruel as these customs may appear, yet, prevailing among a rude and uncivilized people, they are more to be justified than the unprovoked and unnatural inhumanity practised at Tauris. Here every stranger, whom accident or misfortune brought to their coast, was sacrificed to Diana. See *The Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides*.—*T*.

to you ; it regards me alone. Protesilaus of Eleæos, although dead and embalmed in salt, shows that he has power from the gods to inflict vengeance on the man who injured him. I am therefore disposed to satisfy him for my ransom. In place of the money which I took from his temple I will give him a hundred talents : for my son's life and my own, I will give the Athenians two hundred more." These offers had no effect on Xanthippus the Athenian general : he was of himself inclined to put the man to death ; to which he was further importuned by the people of Eleæos, who were very earnest to have the cause of Protesilaus avenged. Conducting him, therefore, to the shore where the bridge of Xerxes had been constructed, they there crucified him ; though some say this was done on an eminence near the city of Madytus. The son was stoned in his father's presence.

CXXI. The Athenians, after the above transactions, returned to Greece ; carrying with them, besides vast quantities of money, the fragments of the bridge, to be suspended in their temples. During the remainder of the year they continued inactive.

CXXII. Of this Artayctes, who was crucified, the grandfather by the father's side was Artembares, who drew up an address for the Persians ; which they approving, presented to Cyrus. It was to this effect : " Since, oh Cyrus ! Jupiter has given to the Persians, and by the degradation of Astyages to you, uncontrolled dominion, suffer us to remove from our present confined and steril region to a better. We have the choice of many, near and at a distance : let us occupy one of these, and become examples of admiration to the rest of mankind. This is a conduct becoming those whose superiority is conspicuous : we can never have a fairer opportunity of doing this, being at the head of so many people, and masters of all Asia." Cyrus, though he did not approve what they said, told them they might do so : but he added,

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that by taking such a step they must learn in future not to command but to obey. It was the operation of nature that luxurious countries should render men effeminate;* for delicacies and heroes were seldom the produce of the same soil. The Persians yielded to these sentiments of Cyrus, and abandoned their own. They chose rather a less pleasant country with dominion, than a fairer one with servitude.

* Hippocrates confirms what is here asserted by Herodotus. After describing the advantages which the temperate parts of Asia possess over Greece, he adds, that the men there are not naturally valiant, and are unwilling to support fatigues and hardships. This sentiment is approved by experience. Greece subdued Asia, the Romans became masters of both those countries, and if they also conquered the Gauls, the Germans, and other nations of the North, it was because these were undisciplined and ignorant of the art of war. When they became so, they in their turn subdued the lords of the world, and dismembered their empire. The Franks vanquished the Gauls, the Lombards, and the Visigoths of Spain. In a word, it is always to be observed, that the people of the North have the advantage over those of the South.—*Larcher.*

The ninth cannot be thought the least interesting of the books of Herodotus. The battles of Plataea and Mycale would alone claim attention, without those beautiful moral sentiments which we find everywhere interspersed in it. The behaviour of Pausanias after his victory, his dignity, moderation, and modesty, are admirably described; his continence, with respect to the mistress of Pharandates, may, for anything I see to the contrary in either history, well be put on a par with the so much vaunted temperance of Scipio on a similar occasion. The concluding sentiment, which teaches that the dispositions of men should be conformed to the nature of the soil and climate in which they are born, is alike admirable for the simplicity with which it is conveyed, and the philosophic truth which it inculcates.—*T.*

3-8.
THE END.

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